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Taha /4 Alwani

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JERRY S GOLDMAN & ASSOC PC
2 PENN CTR PLAZA
1500 JFK BLVD., STE 1411
PHILADELPHIA, PA 19102

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 Defense & Foreign Affairs Daily

August 12, 2003 Tuesday

SECTION: Vol. XXI, No. 123

LENGTH: 2670 words

HEADLINE: First NATO Out-of-Area Mission Raises Question of Transformation of Alliance into Broader Membership

BODY:

Analysis. By Jason Fuchs, GIS staff. The August 7, 2003, terrorist-style bombing in Baghdad, the escalation of HizbAllah attacks from Lebanon into Israel and other evidence now points to a comprehensive effort by Iran and Syria to distract US from expanding its "war on terror" to focus on Iran and Syria.

The sponsors of the August 7, 2003, bombing of the Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad remained unclear as of August 10, 2003, as GIS sources noted "contradictory forensic evidence" at the scene which left the perpetrators as yet unknown. While US officials in the days following the strike had raised the possibility of Ansar al-Islam involvement, GIS sources maintained that this was based more on public relations than fact. A credible report in the UK's The Daily Telegraph on st1:date Year="2003" Day="10" Month="8" August 10, 2003, suggested that the bomb used may have been constructed in Syria, but GIS sources could not independently confirm this.

US officials on st1:date Year="2003" Day="8" Month="8" August 8-9, 2003, emphasized that the bombing of the Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad had been an externally organized operation. Lt.-Gen. Norton Schwartz, the Director of Operations for the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, suggested that the bin Laden-linked "Kurdish" Islamist group Ansar al-Islam may have been involved. The professionalism of the strike was evident; a minivan filled with explosives had reportedly been parked in front of the embassy on the night of st1:date Year="2003" Day="6" Month="8" August 6, 2003, and detonated the following morning by rocket-propelled grenades fired from a separate vehicle by a four-man team. In an interview with i style="mso-bidi-font-style: normal" The New York Times on August 9, 2003, Chief Executive of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) L. Paul Bremer added: "The intelligence suggests that Ansar al-Islam is planning large-scale terrorist attacks here. So as long as we have, as I think we do, substantial numbers of Ansar terrorists around here I think we have to be pretty alert to the fact that we may see more of this." The attack, which killed 19 and injured some 60, was the most well-coordinated attack to date by Iraqi resistance groups, and came during a time of increasing frustration from many circles regarding the growing effectiveness of the Coalition reconstruction operation.

Notably, the Coalition had on August 9, 2003, reached an agreement with the major tribal leaders of the central Iraqi town of Fallujah facilitated by the town's mayor, **Taha** Bdewi Hamid Al-**Alwani**. The understanding centered on increased cooperation between local Fallujah citizens and Coalition forces to help stop the attacks on Coalition troops, most of which had occurred in the so-called Sunni Arab Triangle bordered within the area between Baghdad, Tikrit, and ar-Ramadi. The significance of seven major Sunni Arab tribal leaders signing any agreement with the Coalition would not be lost on Saddam Hussein and his supporters. Furthermore, while the announcement in the first week of August 2003 that the bounty on Coalition troops had been raised from US\$1,000 to US\$5,000 may have portended increased attacks on Coalition forces in the short term, the apparent necessity to raise the price for such strikes spoke volumes about the difficulties Saddam was encountering finding Iraqi allies outside his immediate circle of stalwart Special Republican Guards, Saddam i style="mso-bidi-font-style: normal" Fedayeen, and Ba'athist loyalists [this force of Saddam allies, by some credible reports, numbered as high as 60,000].

Yet, Saddam had found no such shortage of non-Iraqi fighters supplied by Iran and Syria.

Both Tehran and Damascus remained suspicious of US intentions in the region, and constantly conscious of the possibility of US military action against their respective nations. The continued presence of some 167,000 Coalition forces in neighboring Iraq had done nothing to assuage this concern. Although the bulk of US forces remained focused on reconstruction and rebuilding in Iraq, the Iranian and Syrian leaderships were evidently wary of the potential for them

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to turn their attention to targeting the leaderships in Tehran or Damascus .

Thus, the driving force behind the joint Iranian-Syrian post-Saddam Iraq policy was a perceived need to facilitate an increasingly deadly and difficult post-conflict situation for US and Coalition forces [the much feared "quagmire" in US and Western circles and the much vaunted "jihad" on the Arab and Muslim "street", respectively]. Iraq, in the circumstances anticipated and actively encouraged by Tehran and Damascus, would become first a distraction from any possible move against Iran or Syria, second a warning against any US intervention in the Middle East, and last, in the long term, a renewed ally and link in a resurgent Tehran-Damascus-Baghdad axis.

While there was, by August 11, 2003 , no solid basis for reports of i style="mso-bidi-font-style: normal"Ansar al-Islam involvement in the st1:date Year="2003" Day="7" Month="8" August 7, 2003 , bombing in Baghdad , GIS sources stressed that there was no doubt that i style="mso-bidi-font-style: normal"Ansar al-Islam members were filtering back into Iraq from Iran with the help of the Iranian Government. The Ayatollah Khamene'i Government and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC or Pasdaran) had sustained the Northern Iraq-based group and facilitated the escape of hundreds of its members [and, importantly, its leadership] into Iran after i style="mso-bidi-font-style: normal"Ansar 's primary bases in and around Bayara had been destroyed in Coalition air and Special Forces raids during March-April 2003 Iraq War.

Tehran 's decision to redeploy the group — infiltrating its members back into Iraq starting in April 2003 and continuing through August 2003 — was a significant move. While Iran maintains strong ties with the Ayatollah Mohammed Baker al-Hakim-led Badr Brigades, i style="mso-bidi-font-style: normal"Ansar al-Islam was an ideal strategic tool for Iranian anti-Coalition actions in Iraq; its strong ties to Iraqi intelligence allow for better integration of operations with the Saddam-led forces than would the Badr Brigades [which have a history of antagonism with the now-deposed Saddam Government]. Additionally, the group's linkage with the bin Laden group provides a ready stream of Sunni Islamists, trained and ready for martyrdom operations, a tactic which had, by early August 2003, failed to play a key role in the Iraqi resistance. Because of their operational efficiency and propaganda value, it could be anticipated that suicide missions would play a larger role in the future, particularly with the increasing presence of Islamist and non-Iraqi forces.

On the issue of Iranian actions in Iraq, Dr Assad Homayoun, head of the Washington DC-based Iranian opposition group, the i style="mso-bidi-font-style: normal"Azadegan Foundation, and Senior Fellow at the International Strategic Studies Association (ISSA), told GIS on st1:date Year="2003" Day="10" Month="8" August 10, 2003: "Iran wants to bring pressure on the US both in Iraq and Afghanistan to decrease US pressure on the Iranian regime. These operations almost certainly involved the Pasdaran ." Dr Homayoun noted the ongoing presence of al - Qaida leaders in Iran under the Government's protection as related to these efforts.

GIS/ Defense & Foreign Affairs had documented the role of Iranian and Islamist forces in Iraq in a st1:date Year="2003" Day="30" Month="5" May 30, 2003 , exclusive report which noted: p class="MsoNormal" style="margin-top:0in;margin-right:.25in;margin-bottom:0in; margin-left:.25in;margin-bottom:.0001pt"Very well-placed first-hand sources reported to GIS/Defense & Foreign Affairs Daily on st1:date Year="2003" Day="29" Month="5" May 29, 2003 , that officials working directly with Iranian Minister of Intelligence & Security Hojjat ol-Eslam (Mohammad) Ali Yunesi have reportedly met in recent days in Tehran with officials of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party to discuss the formation of a new terrorist operation to target US interests.p class="MsoNormal" style="margin-top:0in;margin-right:.25in;margin-bottom:0in; margin-left:.25in;margin-bottom:.0001pt" p class="MsoNormal" style="margin-top:0in;margin-right:.25in;margin-bottom:0in; margin-left:.25in;margin-bottom:.0001pt" As well, other sources in Tehran, confirming the meetings, said that there was also a strong possibility that the Iraqi Ba'athists also met with former Iranian Pres. Hojjat ol-Eslam Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani — the key power in current Iranian strategic policy — and possibly with the Supreme Leader, "Ayatollah " Ali Hoseini-Khamene'i, in order that the senior Iranian clerics could satisfy themselves that such a link with the Iraqi Ba'athists, who are Sunni Muslims, could be trusted not to go against the plans of the Iranian Shi'a leaders. However, there is now strong evidence that the Iraqi Ba'athists, who are by definition secular socialists as well as mostly Sunni Muslims, are working very closely both with the Iranians and with the radical Islamists.

Sources within the bin Laden group — nominally called al-Qaida — told GIS/Defense & Foreign Affairs in late May 2003 that some of the attacks inside Iraq against US troops were conducted by combined Ba'athist-Islamist forces.

The precise purpose of the HizbAllah attacks on Northern Israel was, through August 11, 2003 , still unclear. HizbAllah had promised revenge attacks for the July 2003 killing of one of its members, Ali Saleh, in a Beirut car bombing

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the group blames on Israel . Saleh had reportedly worked as a driver for the Iranian Embassy in Beirut . Regardless, GIS sources confirmed that the HizbAllah strikes could not have been carried out without permission from Tehran and Damascus .

The shelling and Katyusha missile attacks on Northern Israel appeared to represent a key component of the Iranian-Syrian strategy. Both states recognize the need to reassert their ability to threaten Israel and, in turn, remind the US that Tehran and Damascus still retain the capability to spark a regional war involving the Jewish state if the US "dared" to take action against Syria or Iran . The attack, which included anti-aircraft munitions fired from South Lebanese i style="mso-bidi-font-style: normal"HizbAllah positions laterally at IDF targets, struck the Israeli radar facility on Mt. Dov, a key node of the IDF's strategic defense planning [specifically an early warning tool] for a Syrian invasion through Southern Lebanon.

As critical, Syria and Iran appeared intensely aware of the upcoming US presidential elections in November 2004. The aggressive actions of the US Bush Administration in Afghanistan and Iraq and harsh rhetoric toward Syria, Iran, and North Korea, in contrast to the policies of former US Pres. William Clinton, seemed to emphasize the need to affect a change of government in Washington. The Democrats, the US opposition party, had, by August 2003, yet to choose its candidate, but the widespread criticism within the party of the Bush Administration's handling of the "war on terror", in particular the war in Iraq , provided a welcome alternative to Pres. Bush. While no specific intelligence was available, there were strong indications that, Tehran and Damascus, which had used terror attacks in attempts to affect the outcome of Israeli presidential elections, viewed the use of a similar tactic as necessary to remove Pres. Bush.

One GIS source recalled that Iran, in particular, had been "obsessed" with US elections ever since its ability to influence the 1980 US presidential election that saw Ronald Reagan defeat incumbent US Pres. Jimmy Carter in a landslide. The defeat of Pres. Carter came, in part, because of the hostage situation at the US Embassy in Tehran which occurred under Pres. Carter's watch.

Thus, the eventual "full" violation of the hudna as well as increased HizbAllah bombardments could be expected to further these ends. US Pres. Bush had maintained high ratings in polls since the September 11, 2001, attacks, largely because of his foreign policy. That foreign policy, as of August 2003, stood on three cornerstones:

- 1.The successful war in Iraq as a prelude to a free, democratic Arab ally.
- 2.The US-backed Israeli-Palestinian Roadmap to ease tension in the region.
- 3.The successful prevention of another spectacular terror attack on US soil.

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In Iraq, Tehran and Damascus sought to create a destabilizing situation which could viably appear to the US public as a military "quagmire" to prove the failure of the Iraq War. In Israel, they sought to re-ignite the Palestinian intifada and, perhaps, goad Israel into military action in Southern Lebanon to prove the failure of Pres. Bush's roadmap. And in the US homeland, they sought to facilitate another spectacular attack to prove the failure of the US "war on terror", and, in turn, affect "regime change" in Washington. Iran and Syria clearly seek to regain the strategic initiative and place the US back on the defensive. Removing the US Bush Administration has emerged as a significant long-term component of that effort.

The official commencement on August 11, 2003, of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) first out-of-area military operation — securing Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan — marked the opening of new options for the Alliance, including, effectively, broadening membership and geographic focus issues. This is broadly in line with US strategic thinking, which is that the Western European and Atlantic primary focus of the Alliance had now been overtaken by events.

NATO on August 11, 2003, took command of international peacekeepers tasked with enforcing security in the Afghan capital, the 54-year-old alliance's first mission outside Europe. At a ceremony in central Kabul, outgoing German commander Lt.-Gen. Norbert van Heyst passed the flag of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to NATO Lt.-Gen. Goetz Gliemeroth (also a German), who noted: "NATO's takeover of the ISAF mission demonstrates our nations' long-term commitment to stability, security and the future development of the Afghan people."

Significantly, the new NATO mission continues the trend to move the center of NATO operations to the south-east, increasing the prospect that the Alliance's strong US European Command would mostly move out of US basing and into bases in South-Eastern Europe. Given European dependence on West African energy and resources, there was also a strong prospect that new NATO missions could include African peacekeeping support. At present, US European Command has responsibility for African operations for the US Armed Forces, and there has been discussion of the creation of a new US Africa Command. The Afghan ISAF function involved liaison with US Central Command, NATO's first operational contact, essentially, with a US command other than US European Command and the Atlantic and North American commands which are essentially within the traditional area of NATO.

Afghan President Hamid Karzai and German Defense Minister Peter Struck were among 300 military, United Nations, NATO and Afghan officials witnessing the handover ceremony at a school in central Kabul.

The ISAF force of 5,300 soldiers from 31 nations, including 110 US peacekeepers, has been deployed in Kabul since December 2001. NATO's takeover brings an end to the biannual cycle of transferring ISAF's command to a new country. Since its creation the force has been led by the UK, Turkey and jointly by Germany and the Netherlands since February 2003.

The separate US-led coalition force of some 12,500 troops hunting Taliban and al-Qaida remnants across Afghanistan is not involved in peacekeeping operations and is separate from the NATO force.

LOAD-DATE: August 11, 2003

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THE DAILY TELEGRAPH(LONDON)August 09, 2003, Saturday**SECTION:** Pg. 14**LENGTH:** 705 words**HEADLINE:** Sheikhs agree to peace deal with coalition troops**BYLINE:** By Harry de Quetteville in Fallujah**BODY:**

AFTER months of bitterness, the heads of the seven major tribes of Fallujah have met for the first time with the Iraqi town's mayor and its American forces commander.

Clan leaders and their hangers-on packed the mayor's office at the morning meeting, described by Lt-Col Chris Hickey, US army Fallujah commander, as "an extremely important day".

They came from the Albuaisa tribe, from the al-Jumela and from the al-Halabsa. They greeted the sheikhs of the al-Mahamuda tribe, the Albu al-Wan, the al-Zuba'a and Albuaisa-Qais.

At a rowdy session, they agreed to work with American troops to stamp out the looting as well as the rocket and grenade attacks, that have made Fallujah a byword for instability and danger.

The success of the operation is thought to have influenced America's newfound willingness to consider a softer approach elsewhere in Iraq. Colin Powell, secretary of state, and Gen Ricardo Sanchez, coalition forces commander, both conceded this week that military heavy-handedness in Iraq was breeding local resentment against US forces.

American troops were given a reminder on Tuesday of the daily attacks they used to face when a rocket-propelled grenade crashed into Fallujah's police station and injured two Iraqi officers.

"It wasn't aimed at us though," said an Iraqi policeman in Fallujah yesterday. "Someone was trying to kill the Americans nearby."

Despite the attack, everyone in Fallujah agrees that the situation has improved since American soldiers arrived.

After the war, US troops were seen as invaders, not liberators. In several protests in May, US soldiers fired on demonstrators who had gathered around their base, killing 18. Since then, however, a military rethink has improved relations with the local community.

US forces withdrew from their fixed checkpoints in the town, effectively handing it over to the local police force.

Lt-Col Hickey also said that US raids into houses in Fallujah, once a major point of friction with locals, are less frequent and less heavyhanded than before.

"We launched a raid on a bad tip recently and so we apologised. I later wrote a formal letter of apology to the owner of the house we stormed," he said.

US troops have also picked up other local rules. "They now pay blood money," said Taha Bdewi Hamid Al-Alwani, Fallujah's mayor, yesterday. "If they mistakenly kill someone, they pay the victim's family \$2,000. For an injury, it is \$500."

Mayor Al-Alwani has proved the key to bridging the cultural divide between local tribal leaders and the Americans.

Nominated by the sheikhs, his election was later confirmed by the coalition and, unlike many politicians in post-Saddam Iraq, he has managed to avoid accusations of being a US stooge.

Sheikhs agree to peace deal with coalition troops THE DAILY TELEGRAPH(LO

"It is a very difficult equation to be trusted by both sides," he said. "But the tribes know me and they see that I can make the Americans respond to their requests."

On the streets, those demands are the same in Fallujah as everywhere else in Iraq: security, electricity and running water.

Through the intermediary of the mayor, however, the tribes can now hold the American troops accountable for improvements in infrastructure without resorting to heavy weaponry.

"The mayor convinced us to work with the Americans," said Talib al-Hasnawi, brother of the sheikh of the Albuaisha tribe, Khamis al-Hasnawi.

"Now this council will meet every Wednesday and each time the Americans will have to answer our demands from the week before." On the base 10 miles outside Fallujah to which American troops have withdrawn, Lt-Col Hickey is already preparing his answers for next week.

"I understand they want power," he said. "And it will take too long to plug the town into the network so I'm working to get two 20 megawatt generators here. They will soon power the whole town."

Back in Fallujah such improvements could help to dissolve further the fog or mutual misunderstanding and mistrust that once reigned. "The Americans are really beginning to work for us," said Mayor Al-Alnawi.

"Here they have learned an important lesson which could be useful for them all over Iraq. Everywhere, commanders should tell the soldiers: Learn from Fallujah."

[PS]News: [ES]

International:

LOAD-DATE: August 9, 2003

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National Public Radio (NPR)

SHOW: Morning Edition (10:00 AM ET) - NPR

July 22, 2003 Tuesday

LENGTH: 901 words

HEADLINE: Efforts to restore functioning government to Fallujah

ANCHORS: BOB EDWARDS

REPORTERS: ERIC WESTERVELT

BODY:

BOB EDWARDS, host:

This is MORNING EDITION from NPR News. I'm Bob Edwards.

Security problems still exist in Iraq. Cities across the country are struggling to get local governments back in operation. One case is Fallujah, a turbulent Sunni city west of Baghdad that sometimes has violent anti-American demonstrations. The mayor there is working closely with a young American officer to try to restore a semblance of functioning government. NPR's Eric Westervelt reports from Fallujah.

ERIC WESTERVELT reporting:

The Fallujah government has no money. Right now its budget consists of what Army officials can cull from the US provisional authority in Baghdad or their own discretionary fund. So the real power here rests with John Ives, a boyish-looking 27-year-old American Army captain. This day a local tribal elder needs Captain Ives to help get workers rehired and back irrigating Dreamland. Dreamland—yes, that's its real name—is the Fallujah area Baath Party party pen built by Saddam Hussein's son, Uday. Before the war, the irrigation system that was used to maintain Dreamland's trees, gardens and decadent lake ran off into farm fields behind the complex. Since the war, no watering means no runoff and no crops. No money equals angry farmers.

Captain JOHN IVES (US Army): Do me a favor. Get their list of names and all of the other people that are going to be working with them, as many as you can get, because what we have to do is get them screened and then we're going to get them on Dreamland to start working. And try and get some of the details of who's going to pay for it, like do they have somebody who's already going to pay for all that work or do they need some sort of support from US forces? OK.

WESTERVELT: As soon as Captain Ives steps warily back into his air-conditioned office, Fallujah's deputy traffic police chief, Abdul Hamed Shakan(ph), politely accosts him about the shabby conditions of the traffic police headquarters.

Capt. IVES: OK, and what do you need for that building?

Mr. ABDUL HAMED SHAKAN: (Through Translator) Furniture, electricity, equipment, fans, ACs, and a building so ...(unintelligible) can meet.

Capt. IVES: He just needs something to make his building nicer?

Unidentified Translator: Yes.

Capt. IVES: OK. What else, sir?

Mr. SHAKAN: (Foreign language spoken)

Unidentified Translator: Vehicles. They need 10 vehicles.

Capt. IVES: Ten vehicles?

Unidentified Translator: Yes.

Capt. IVES: You know, the police don't even have 10 vehicles.

WESTERVELT: Officially, Captain Ives is the liaison officer to Fallujah, but he really functions as the de facto chief of staff to the new mayor, Taha Bedaiwi Alwani. Alwani doesn't control much cash yet, but his constituents still flock daily to see the man they hope will solve all their ills. The air outside the mayor's office is thick with cigarette smoke and impatience.

(Soundbite of people talking)

WESTERVELT: Farmer Thamer Hamed(ph) is hoping to find out anything he can about a relative who went missing one week ago.

Unidentified Man: He's here to look for his uncle. His uncle was missing. They want to know if he's in American custody or not, if his car was looted or someone maybe killed him. They just want to know where he is at.

WESTERVELT: Mayor Alwani tries to settle disputes ranging from stolen sheep and neighborhood noise to big-ticket issues like water, electricity and security.

Mayor TAHA BEDAIWI ALWANI (Fallujah): (Through Translator) Security is more important for everybody. If there is no security, people, they're gonna not be happy to do and to look for future progress. If there is security, people, they're gonna work and look for a project to help their families and their people.

WESTERVELT: The working relationship between the Iraqis and Americans is far from smooth. There are daily misunderstandings, miscommunications and confusion. Some US forces here are frustrated by the new US-trained Fallujah police department's failure to track down leads when Americans are attacked or even to help out at checkpoints. Back in his office, Captain Ives says the Type A personalities in the US Army are continually running hard into the slow-paced inshallah, or 'God willing,' culture of the Iraqi police.

Capt. IVES: The majority of the police are very, 'Let's smoke a cigarette, have a cup of tea before we make anything happen,' and so our soldiers are saying, 'We have to do it right now,' trying to get that point across and break that cultural boundary of 'Well, it can happen today, it could happen tomorrow, I don't know, inshallah.' We have to get past the inshallah and our soldiers have to understand that, you know, this is the land of inshallah.

WESTERVELT: Before leaving, the traffic police chief has one more request of Captain Ives on behalf of the 60 men who now work for him in the heat of Fallujah's crowded intersections.

Mr. SHAKAN: (Foreign language spoken)

Unidentified Translator: And something else he forgot. In the interchange, the policeman who is standing, he needs something to protect him from the sun.

Capt. IVES: How about sunblock? Just rub that on. OK. So some sort of shade. All right. These aren't ridiculous requests. Tell him that.

WESTERVELT: Eric Westervelt, NPR News, Fallujah.

EDWARDS: Photographs of the mayor of Fallujah are at npr.org.

LOAD-DATE: January 8, 2004

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Copyright 2003 Charleston Newspapers
Charleston Gazette (West Virginia)July 6, 2003, Sunday**SECTION:** News; Pg. P13A**LENGTH:** 986 words**HEADLINE:** Continued attacks Resistance in Iraq may indicate forming guerrilla groups July 6, 2003, Sunday**BYLINE:** Tom Lasseter Knight Ridder Newspapers**BODY:**

BAGHDAD, Iraq – Two months after President Bush declared major combat over in Iraq, stealthy enemies are still killing and wounding American and allied soldiers – five killed and 22 wounded in May, 20 killed and 39 wounded in June.

In response, American commanders have unleashed repeated military raids – Operation Peninsula north of Baghdad, Operation Desert Scorpion west of Baghdad and Operation Sidewinder in western and central Iraq – to root out those pockets of resistance. The raids have netted hundreds of arrests but have also created new waves of anger and hostility among the Iraqi people.

The pattern of attack and counterattack looks like classic guerrilla warfare, in which a weaker foe attacks in the place of his choosing, then melts into the population. The harder an occupying force pounds back, the more it alienates the populace, creating communities that accept, if not actively support, armed resistance.

The Americans learned it the hard way in Vietnam, the Russians in Afghanistan, the British in Northern Ireland and now, it seems, the same scenario may be unfolding in Iraq.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld told senators recently that Iraq is not, in fact, experiencing guerrilla warfare. "I don't know that I would use that word," he said.

But military officials in Iraq have for weeks described an opponent (or opponents) that doesn't appear part of a central command structure, isn't well organized and tends to attack in ambush-style operations. The opponent promotes Iraqis' discontent by spreading rumors and disrupting basic services through sabotaging power lines and, possibly, assassinating a Baghdad electricity official.

Asked what all those pieces add up to, Maj. Sean Gibson, a top Army spokesman in Baghdad, said, "I know where you're going here. I studied guerrilla warfare, too."

Death for soldiers in June came from a bewildering number of directions. One soldier was hit in a rocket-propelled grenade attack at a trash pickup center. One was shot by a sniper while on patrol. A soldier investigating a carjacking was ambushed. A group of people at a checkpoint said they needed help with a sick person, then jumped out of the car and shot a soldier to death.

Coalition officials blamed the deaths on holdovers from Saddam Hussein's Baath party. They also have mentioned the possibility of fighters coming from Iran or Syria to destabilize American efforts in Iraq. From time to time, there is word of "al-Qaida sympathizers" or "terrorist groups."

But there has been little public airing of evidence. The closest thing to confirmation was an attack on a training camp in Rawah, close to the Syrian border to the west. At the battle scene afterward, among the body parts and trench-line graves, were empty cans of Russian AK-47 ammunition, mangled rifle parts and empty rocket-propelled grenade crates. Some locals said the camp included Syrians who were training to fight the Americans.

Continued attacks Resistance in Iraq may indicate forming guerrilla grou

"There are all sorts of cells operating in the country," said Lt. Gen. Richard Sanchez, the top general in Iraq. Who, exactly, is in those cells? he asked. "There's a whole lot of names that are out there."

Gibson also was vague about the identity of what he called "terrorist organizations, or wanna-be terrorist organizations, I don't have any names. They have their own purposes, their own agendas."

While coalition officials shy away from specifics, many Iraqis say the anti-coalition violence isn't the result of Baathists or organized terrorist groups, but ordinary citizens who are angry about what they see as an American occupation. Iraqis say the attacks are due to a rage born of the lack of electricity and water, along with coalition soldiers searching Iraqi homes and occasionally shooting innocent civilians.

Of course, the fact that ordinary civilians are enraged doesn't mean there isn't also a resistance with an agenda fanning discontent.

No town has gotten more attention for ambushing American troops than Fallujah, about an hour west of Baghdad. The attacks came after an April demonstration in which more than a dozen Iraqis were killed by U.S. soldiers.

"People are still very upset. The shootings are revenge," said Taha Alwani, the town's mayor, who was installed with the blessings of U.S. troops. "That's why I told the Americans not to search any houses without talking to me."

U.S. military officials say they're aware of the problem. "I know there's a sense that the more combat operations we conduct, the more we piss them off - the more riled up they get," said Capt. John Morgan, a spokesman for the Army's V Corps. Still, says Morgan, the coalition can't stop looking for weapons and possible militia leaders.

s In Majar al Kabir, where six British soldiers were killed and eight wounded, public resentment about a round of home searches turned into a mob throwing rocks at troops. When the situation got out of hand, witnesses said, the British opened fire and the crowd responded in kind.

s In Balad, where two American soldiers disappeared with their Humvee, and then turned up dead, locals harbor resentment over what they say was an overreaction to a rocket-propelled grenade attack June 13 on a U.S. tank convoy. In the aftermath of the attack, U.S. soldiers killed seven people, including five who residents said weren't connected to the violence. Local tribal customs have long dictated that a killing must be avenged either with payment or another death.

"[The Americans] should understand that Saddam is gone and the Baathists are not as strong as they think," said Sheik Fahren al Sadeed, who leads a tribe of thousands in southern Iraq. The shootings come "because the Americans aren't fixing things, and if they are not careful it will be Iraq united fighting against the Americans."

There's plenty of evidence that the behavior of U.S. troops is creating its own problems:

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LOAD-DATE: July 7, 2003

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Knight Ridder Washington Bureau

July 6, 2003, Sunday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

KR-ACC-NO: K0857

LENGTH: 1366 words

HEADLINE: Fallujah symbolizes U.S. failure to bring peace, stability to Iraq

BYLINE: By Tom Lasseter

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq _ Soldiers walked slowly past the mosque, looking up at its tower and blue mosaic tile. Their machine guns pointed out toward the night, they passed in and out of darkness, with dim streetlights casting long shadows.

Fallujah is a sweltering hot city on the bank of the Euphrates, and at 1:30 in the morning, the temperature stood at about 100 degrees. Sweat was dripping down 1st Lt. Eric Moberley's neck as he made his way up one narrow alley after the other.

"Ever since the war ended, the action started," Moberley said. "I don't see an end to it all any time soon it's like anarchy. The police don't do anything. They won't go out at night because they're afraid."

Moberley and his fellow soldiers, of the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division, were brought in to help the 3rd Infantry Division get the town under control. The 3rd ID itself came to town to relieve the 82nd Airborne Division, which ran into a lot of problems, including a late April demonstration in which at least 12 local residents were shot and killed.

Moberley's orders to Fallujah came, he said, with a description: "They said it was like the Wild West."

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Fallujah symbolizes U.S. failure to bring peace, stability to Iraq Knight

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Although DiSalvo would not use the term, patrols such as Moberley's are essentially bait. And soldiers may have a price on their heads. Because a lot of the shooters have been found with large amounts of cash on them, Army officials have concluded that they're being paid to shoot soldiers.

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"You get the feeling we're still not wanted here," said Sgt. Hocken Smith of the 3rd ID, who said his unit gets shot at almost every night while on patrol. "They were told we were going to liberate and not occupy, and they want us out."

Standing next to Smith at a row of concrete barracks on the outskirts of Fallujah, Sgt. Anthony Sollano said, "our morale's kind of low right now."

"We're just ready to go home it sucks, pretty much."

The soldiers of the 3rd ID, the two men pointed out, were deployed to Kuwait more than eight months ago, fought the main thrust of the Iraqi war, and are still taking fire from people who speak a language they don't understand.

Despite all that, DiSalvo said he thinks the majority of Fallujah residents support the American presence and have been impressed with task forces of soldiers working to repair the sewage and electrical infrastructure.

"We've turned the corner," he said. "The hearts and minds thing, we've done that. But we've got probably 20 percent on the fence."

As proof, he said, the town's mayor, **Taha Alwani**, has often told the press that he welcomes the U.S. troops.

Ask almost anyone in Fallujah, though, and they'll say they hate the Americans and do not trust Alwani, who was installed, not voted in, with the blessings of U.S. troops.

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(Lasseeter reports for the Lexington Herald-Leader.)

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PHOTOS (from KRT Photo Service, 202-383-6099): FALLUJAH

GRAPHIC (from KRT Graphics, 202-383-6064): 20030701 Iraq blasts

JOURNAL-CODE: WA

LOAD-DATE: July 5, 2003

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Saint Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)

July 6, 2003 Sunday CITY EDITION

SECTION: MAIN; Pg. A4

LENGTH: 718 words

HEADLINE: U.S. TROOPS ON INCREASINGLY SHAKY GROUND
STABILITY SLIPPING AWAY AS ATTACKS CONTINUE

BYLINE: TOM LASSETER Knight Ridder Foreign Service

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq — Soldiers walked slowly past the mosque, looking up at its tower and blue mosaic tile. Their machine guns pointed out toward the night, they passed in and out of darkness, with dim streetlights casting long shadows.

Fallujah is a sweltering hot city on the bank of the Euphrates, and at 1:30 in the morning, the temperature stood at about 100 degrees. Sweat was dripping down 1st Lt. Eric Moberley's neck as he made his way up one narrow alley after the other.

"Ever since the war ended, the action started," Moberley said. "I don't see an end to it all any time soon. It's like anarchy. The police don't do anything. They won't go out at night because they're afraid."

Moberley and his fellow soldiers of the Army's 101st Airborne Division were brought in to help the 3rd Infantry Division get the town under control. The 3rd division itself came to town to relieve the 82nd Airborne Division, which ran into a series of problems, including an April demonstration in which at least 12 local residents were shot and killed.

Moberley's orders to Fallujah came, he said, with a description: "They said it was like the Wild West."

Perhaps more than any other part of the country, Fallujah has come to symbolize the failure of U.S. forces to bring peace and stability to Iraq.

Troops stationed in the city are dangerously out of touch with the people they are trying to control. Commanders admit they have no idea who is repeatedly attacking them or why. Their principal conduit to the people of the town is a mayor, backed by coalition forces, who commands little respect even across the street from his office. And hostility to the United States is growing at an alarming pace, perhaps already crossing a point of no return.

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U.S. TROOPS ON INCREASINGLY SHAKY GROUNDSTABILITY SLIPPING AWAY AS ATTAC

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Ask almost anyone in Fallujah, though, and they'll say they hate the Americans and do not trust Alwani, who was installed, not voted in, with the blessings of U.S. troops.

NOTES: Rebuilding Iraq

GRAPHIC: Photo: LEN VAUGHN-LAHMAN, KMIGHT RIDDER TRIBUNE

A 3rd Infantry Division soldier patrols a street in Fallujah in the dead of the night. Troops are working 7-day weeks, 12-hour shifts, living between hostile streets and spartan living quarters in one of Iraq's most tenuous "hot spots."

LOAD-DATE: August 2, 2005

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JULY 5, 2003 Saturday METRO FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1160 words

HEADLINE: IRAQ CHAOS IS 'LIKE THE WILD WEST';
COMMANDERS PUZZLED BY ATTACKS ON TROOPS
PEACE PROVES ELUSIVE

BYLINE: TOM LASSETER KNIGHT RIDDER NEWSPAPERS

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq — U.S. soldiers walked slowly past the mosque, looking up at its tower and blue mosaic tile. Their machine guns pointed out toward the night, they passed in and out of darkness, with dim streetlights casting long shadows.

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Revenge

Many Fallujah residents say the attacks were first motivated by anger about house searches, but are now fueled by revenge that comes out of incidents like the April demonstration.

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Despite all that, DiSalvo said he thinks most Fallujah residents support the U.S. presence and have been impressed with task forces of soldiers working to repair the sewage and electrical infrastructure.

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People of Fallujah

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NOTES: SEE MAP IN MICROFILM PAGE 9A

GRAPHIC: Photo LEN VAUGHN-LAHMAN, Knight Ridder-Tribune; Map RICHARD JOHNSON, Detroit Free Press;

Soldiers of the 3rd Infantry Division patrol Thursday in Fallujah. The troops, working 7-day weeks are under frequent assault.

LOAD-DATE: August 23, 2005

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Lexington Herald Leader (Kentucky)

JULY 5, 2003 Saturday FINAL EDITION

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. A3

LENGTH: 975 words

HEADLINE: WHO'S THE ENEMY? TROOPS IN FALLUJAH NOT SURE

BYLINE: Tom Lasseter, Herald-Leader Staff Writer

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, IRAQ

BODY:

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WHO'S THE ENEMY? TROOPS IN FALLUJAH NOT SURE Lexington Herald Leader

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NOTES: CLOSE-UP; Today's topic: U.S. occupation forces

LOAD-DATE: August 2, 2005

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JULY 5, 2003 Saturday CITY-D EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 1093 words

HEADLINE: Daily attacks in Fallujah illustrate tough U.S. job

BYLINE: Tom Lasseter KNIGHT RIDDER NEWS SERVICE

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

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Daily attacks in Fallujah illustrate tough U.S. job The Philadelphia I

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Army engineers have since said the debris pattern shows conclusively that the explosion came from inside. The U.S. Army's Central Command sent out a release saying there had apparently been a bomb-making class going on at the time.

A lot of people in Fallujah no longer care what the Americans or Alwani say. They are convinced the U.S. launched a missile at the building, targeting Imam Laith Khalil, who had spoken out against the presence of troops in the city.

Amar Mahmoud, standing at a soda stand less than a block from the mayor's office, said he was sure the Americans attacked the mosque. In return, he said, "they will be killed in the streets, one by one."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO AND MAP;

LEN VAUGHN-LAHMAN, San Jose Mercury News

A soldier with the Third Infantry Division hands out M&Ms to Iraqi children during a patrol in Fallujah, Iraq. Three soldiers have been killed and 21 wounded in the city since May 1.

MAP

Fallujah, Iraq (The Philadelphia Inquirer)

Daily attacks in Fallujah illustrate tough U.S. job The Philadelphia I

LOAD-DATE: August 2, 2005

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Los Angeles Times

July 4, 2003 Friday
Home Edition

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Part 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 773 words

HEADLINE: Military Split on Blast at Mosque;

U.S. commanders on the ground dispute top brass' claim that a bomb-making class at the Iraqi complex might have been responsible.

BYLINE: Patrick J. McDonnell and Terry McDermott, Times Staff Writers

DATELINE: FALLOUJA, Iraq

BODY:

U.S. commanders on the ground have found no direct evidence to substantiate allegations by the military's Central Command that a deadly explosion at a mosque compound may be related to bomb-making activities, officers said Thursday.

"I don't think you could say any way definitively that that was what was going on," said Capt. Joffery Watson, intelligence officer for occupation troops in this restive town west of Baghdad. "I have no idea where CentCom got that."

In a brief statement Wednesday, the Central Command said the explosion that killed as many as 10 people Monday night "was apparently related to a bomb-manufacturing class that was being taught inside the mosque."

Lt. Col. Eric Wesley of the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Armored Division, which is occupying Fallouja, said Thursday, "I'm unaware of the bomb school information."

The varying accounts of the mosque blast left commanders here in a difficult position. Some even suggested privately that the Central Command had gotten it wrong.

Many residents blamed the explosion on a U.S. warplane, and witness accounts of such an aircraft above the mosque before the blast were disseminated widely in the Arabic-language press. Neighborhood residents dubbed the dead men "martyrs" in a fight pitting Islam against an occupying power.

U.S. military officials have downplayed the possible presence of explosives in the Fallouja mosque as an isolated instance and not a sign of a growing Islamic front against occupation forces.

U.S. authorities have reported sporadic attacks from the vicinity of mosques and have even arrested some prayer leaders in the country.

Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez, commander of the U.S.-led ground forces in Iraq, said in Baghdad on Thursday that the Fallouja site was a suspected bomb factory.

But he also said: "I am here to tell you that over the last month, Fallouja has been a great example of cooperation. Most of the local sheiks are cooperating."

For weeks, U.S. troops have been working to calm a potentially incendiary state of affairs in this city, which has emerged as a caldron of anti-U.S. activity. The last thing they want is to inflame passions further.

Military authorities here have avoided jumping to quick conclusions publicly about the cause of the explosion, which killed the mosque imam, or preacher, Sheik Laith Khalil Dahham, 35, and as many as nine other men described by

Military Split on Blast at Mosque; U.S. commanders on the ground dispute

residents as religious students.

One possible explanation circulating widely among moderate Iraqis here is that agitators seeking to discredit U.S. forces deliberately planted the explosives at the mosque compound, a scenario that would exonerate the dead. U.S. military officials here say they have not ruled out the possibility that outsiders planted a bomb.

"I think this explosion was carried out by strangers looking to provoke trouble," Abdul Sattar Hardan, a leading religious figure here, said Thursday. He was speaking at a news conference at the heavily fortified City Hall that was organized as part of a U.S. military public relations offensive.

At the same event, the U.S.-backed mayor, Taha Badawi Alwani, called the explosion "a grave sign of escalation."

The leaders called on residents of Fallouja and surrounding towns to await the results of a local police investigation before reaching any conclusions.

"Peace, justice, security and cooperation must prevail between the two sides," Sattar said.

A Central Command spokesman, Maj. Brad Lowell, declined to specify sources for the bomb-making allegation but stood by the statement. "I see nothing to change what we put out," he said from Florida, where the command is based.

And the top U.S. officer in Fallouja, Col. Joseph DiSalvo, said that "there was no disconnect" between field officers and their superiors in the Central Command. The colonel and others left open the possibility that the Central Command may have alternative sources of information.

The mysterious blast occurred late Monday in a building at the Al Hassan mosque complex in a working-class neighborhood. It blew the roof off the building, blasted a hole in the exterior wall of the compound and gouged another hole in the nearby mosque.

Military officers here quickly concluded that the explosion came from inside the structure, based on the blast pattern and forensic evidence.

The imam, authorities confirmed Thursday, had been identified by U.S. commanders as a cleric who was given to making anti-American statements at his weekly sermons. But there was no indication that explosives were stored at the green-domed mosque complex, Capt. Watson said.

*

McDonnell reported from Fallouja and McDermott from Baghdad.

GRAPHIC: BLAST VICTIM: Ahmed Jassim Humadi visits his cousin Husham Jassim Janabi, who was seriously injured in the explosion that occurred Monday at a mosque complex in Fallouja, Iraq. **PHOTOGRAPHER:** Carolyn Cole
Los Angeles Times

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July 2, 2003, Wednesday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

KR-ACC-NO: K5913

LENGTH: 1003 words

HEADLINE: Resistance, retaliation by Iraqis resembles guerilla warfare

BYLINE: By Tom Lasseter

BODY:

BAGHDAD, Iraq _ Two months after President Bush declared major combat over in Iraq, stealthy enemies are still killing and wounding American and allied soldiers _ five killed and 22 wounded in May, 20 killed and 39 wounded in June.

In response, American commanders have unleashed repeated military raids _ Operation Peninsula north of Baghdad, Operation Desert Scorpion west of Baghdad and Operation Sidewinder in western and central Iraq _ to root out those pockets of resistance. The raids have netted hundreds of arrests but have also created new waves of anger and hostility among the Iraqi people.

The pattern of attack and counterattack looks like classic guerrilla warfare, in which a weaker foe attacks in the place of his choosing, then melts into the population. The harder an occupying force pounds back, the more it alienates the populace, creating communities that accept, if not actively support, armed resistance.

The Americans learned it the hard way in Vietnam, the Russians in Afghanistan, the British in Northern Ireland and now, it seems, the same scenario may be unfolding in Iraq.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld told senators last week that Iraq is not, in fact, experiencing guerrilla warfare. "I don't know that I would use that word," he said.

But military officials in Iraq have for weeks described an opponent (or opponents) that doesn't appear part of a central command structure, isn't well organized and tends to attack in ambush-style operations. The opponent promotes Iraqis' discontent by spreading rumors and disrupting basic services through sabotaging power lines and, possibly, assassinating a Baghdad electricity official.

Asked what all those pieces add up to, Maj. Sean Gibson, a top Army spokesman in Baghdad, said, "I know where you're going here. I studied guerrilla warfare too."

Death for soldiers in June came from a bewildering number of directions. One soldier was hit in a rocket-propelled grenade attack at a trash pickup center. One was shot by a sniper while on patrol. A soldier investigating a carjacking was ambushed. A group of people at a checkpoint said they needed help with a sick person, then jumped out of the car and shot a soldier to death.

Coalition officials blamed the deaths on holdovers from Saddam Hussein's Baath party. They also have mentioned the possibility of fighters coming from Iran or Syria to destabilize American efforts in Iraq. From time to time, there is word of "al-Qaida sympathizers" or "terrorist groups."

But there has been little public airing of evidence. The closest thing to confirmation was an attack on a training camp in Rawah, close to the Syrian border to the west. At the battle scene afterward, among the body parts and trench-line graves, were empty cans of Russian AK-47 ammunition, mangled rifle parts and empty rocket-propelled grenade crates.

Resistance, retaliation by Iraqis resembles guerilla warfare Knight Ridd

Some locals said the camp included Syrians who were training to fight the Americans.

"There are all sorts of cells operating in the country," said Lt. Gen. Richard Sanchez, the top general in Iraq. Who, exactly, is in those cells? he asked. "There's a whole lot of names that are out there."

Gibson also was vague about the identity of what he called "terrorist organizations, or wanna-be terrorist organizations, I don't have any names. They have their own purposes, their own agendas."

While coalition officials shy away from specifics, many Iraqis say the anti-coalition violence isn't the result of Baathists or organized terrorist groups, but ordinary citizens who are angry about what they see as an American occupation. Iraqis say the attacks are due to a rage born of the lack of electricity and water, along with coalition soldiers searching Iraqi homes and occasionally shooting innocent civilians.

Of course, the fact that ordinary civilians are enraged doesn't mean there isn't also a resistance with an agenda fanning discontent.

There's plenty of evidence that the behavior of U.S. troops is creating its own problems:

_ No town has gotten more attention for ambushing American troops than Fallujah, about an hour west of Baghdad. The attacks came after an April demonstration in which more than a dozen Iraqis were killed by U.S. soldiers.

"People are still very upset. The shootings are revenge," said Taha Alwani, the town's mayor, who was installed with the blessings of U.S. troops. "That's why I told the Americans not to search any houses without talking to me."

_ In Majar al Kabir, where six British soldiers were killed and eight wounded, public resentment about a round of home searches turned into a mob throwing rocks at troops. When the situation got out of hand, witnesses said, the British opened fire and the crowd responded in kind.

_ In Balad, where two American soldiers disappeared with their Humvee, and then turned up dead, locals harbor resentment over what they say was an overreaction to a rocket-propelled grenade attack June 13 on a U.S. tank convoy. In the aftermath of the attack, U.S. soldiers killed seven people, including five who residents said weren't connected to the violence. Local tribal customs have long dictated that a killing must be avenged either with payment or another death.

"(The Americans) should understand that Saddam is gone and the Baathists are not as strong as they think," said Sheik Fahran al Sadeed, who leads a tribe of thousands in southern Iraq. The shootings come "because the Americans aren't fixing things, and if they are not careful it will be Iraq united fighting against the Americans."

U.S. military officials say they're aware of the problem. "I know there's a sense that the more combat operations we conduct, the more we piss them off, the more riled up they get," said Capt. John Morgan, a spokesman for the Army's V Corps. Still, says Morgan, the coalition can't stop looking for weapons and possible militia leaders.

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GRAPHIC (from KRT Graphics, 202-383-6064): USIRAQ GUERRILLA

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Copyright 2003 Knight Ridder/Tribune Business News
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July 2, 2003, Wednesday

KR-ACC-NO: WA-USIRAQ

LENGTH: 1105 words

HEADLINE: Mosque Explosion in Fallujah, Iraq, Prompts Calls for Holy War against U.S.

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq — An explosion late Monday in a mosque compound in Fallujah that killed 10 Iraqis, including the mosque's spiritual leader, has enraged the city's residents and prompted calls for a holy war against the United States.

People in Fallujah said Tuesday that American forces launched a missile into the mosque, a charge the U.S. military denied.

While Fallujah, about an hour west of Baghdad, has been a hot spot of fighting between residents and U.S. troops for months, the anti-American rhetoric and threats of violent response are reaching a new peak, with calls for Islamic jihad, or holy war.

Elsewhere in Iraq, violence continued. In Baghdad, two rocket-propelled grenade attacks on American troops in Humvee patrols injured a total of six soldiers and killed one Iraqi interpreter. U.S. troops shot and killed two Iraqis in a vehicle that didn't stop at a checkpoint that was set up to protect a visiting delegation of American senators.

To the north, the chief of Saddam Hussein's tribe in Tikrit was reported dead after a shooting Sunday, in what may have been a revenge killing. The sheik had spoken out recently against the deposed dictator, who remains missing.

In Baghdad, L. Paul Bremer, the top U.S. civilian in Iraq, remained upbeat. "Day by day, conditions in Iraq continue to improve," he said. "Freedom becomes more and more entrenched, and the dark days of the Baathist regime are further and further back in people's memories."

But in Washington, U.S. officials said Bremer was asking for more troops and dozens more American officials to help bring order to Iraq. Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld was reviewing the request, said the U.S. officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Bremer's request underscores the deepening difficulties his small civilian staff and some 158,000 American-led troops are having maintaining order and restoring basic services in some parts of Iraq. It also conflicts with his upbeat assessment Tuesday and similarly rosy public statements by Rumsfeld and President Bush.

A delegation of U.S. senators in the capital city, led by Armed Services Committee Chairman John Warner, R-Va., pledged Tuesday to keep troops in Iraq until "freedom replaces the tyranny of Saddam Hussein and his regime."

At the checkpoint where the two Iraqis were killed, an angry crowd gathered, yelling that revenge would be swift.

"Every Iraqi is worth more than 40 Americans," shouted Salah Kuder, his face dripping sweat as he gestured angrily with his fist. "If they think we're afraid of their guns, we're not. This is not Afghanistan. Are they here to help us or are they here to kill us?"

The explosion late Monday at Fallujah's al Hassan mosque decimated a small building that contained the sleeping quarters, office and classroom of the mosque's imam, the Muslim equivalent of a minister. Most locals interviewed said a U.S. military helicopter or plane fired a missile at the building. A U.S. Army commander in the city denied those charges, saying the explosion came from within the structure.

Mosque Explosion in Fallujah, Iraq, Prompts Calls for Holy War against U

"There was no American attack on this mosque," said Col. Joseph Disalvo of the Army's 3rd Infantry Division, which was called into the town to bring peace after several incidents of ambush and gunfire on the 82nd Airborne Division.

The lack of a large crater or burn marks on the side of the mosque proved that no missile was launched, Disalvo said.

Blood was splattered against the wall of the mosque, which adjoined the building. Volumes of the Koran in a heap were burned and smeared with blood.

The imam, Laith Khalil, was teaching a small group of students about 10:50 p.m. when the boom came, said Abu Omar, who leads the call to prayer for the mosque.

Khalil was found in the street and taken to a hospital in Baghdad, where he soon died, according to medical staff.

Those closer to the source of the explosion were torn to pieces. Fragments of intestines were wrapped in blankets in front of the mosque Tuesday morning before being placed in coffins.

"We heard the noises of aircraft over us," said Omar, who said he was on the grounds of the mosque at the time. "There was a light in the air, and a rocket fell and hit the classroom."

As Omar spoke softly under a thatch roof, which hung over a series of prayer mats, hundreds of angry men milled about.

"It is a war against Islam," said Annis Abdul Sater. "Not only the Iraqi people but all the Muslims in the world will fight the Americans."

Sater said he was at the April demonstration in Fallujah when American soldiers shot and killed more than 12 residents. At the time, he said, he thought the troops may have been targeting the crowd — which was protesting the U.S. presence in town — because it was a group of Muslims, but he decided to reserve judgment. The explosion Monday night, he said, made up his mind: The Americans must be killed, he said, because they are the enemies of Islam.

Other agreed.

"If they kill one of us, we will kill 10 of them," said Munir Abad, the veins on his face bulging with rage. "We will win. By Allah's will, we will win."

Holding a Koran with blood on its creases, Hamza Hussein pumped the book in the air and shouted, "There is no God but Allah. America is the enemy." A crowd of men and children, fists raised, screamed back, "There is no God but Allah. America is the enemy."

Many at the mosque said the Americans targeted Khalil because he'd spoken harshly about U.S. troops at Friday prayers.

Anwar Sayid, who attends the mosque, said Khalil hadn't been inciting violence. "The imam wasn't speaking of jihad; the jihad was already here," Sayid said.

Fallujah's mayor, who is supported by U.S. troops and regarded with suspicion by residents, said Khalil was a radical. "The sheik of this mosque, he spoke of jihad," said Mayor Taha Alwani, who was speaking before word of Khalil's death arrived. "Those people killed are innocent, but this sheik is a fanatic."

Alwani wouldn't say who he thought was behind the destruction of the building.

Standing outside Alwani's office, Disalvo, the Army commander, said he remained hopeful that a majority of the city's residents supported the coalition presence. The relationship, he said, is "for the most part, improved every day."

By Tom Lasseter and Natalie Pompilio. Lasseter reports for the Lexington Herald-Leader, Pompilio for The Philadelphia Inquirer. Dana Hull of the San Jose Mercury News contributed to this article from Baghdad. Jonathan S. Landay and Warren P. Strobel in Washington contributed to this report.

Mosque Explosion in Fallujah, Iraq, Prompts Calls for Holy War against U

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Orlando Sentinel (Florida)July 2, 2003 Wednesday, FINAL**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A1**LENGTH:** 616 words

HEADLINE: IRAQIS CALL FOR U.S. BLOOD;
IN WASHINGTON;
PRESIDENT BUSH VOWS THERE WILL BE 'NORETURN TO TYRANNY IN IRAQ.';
IN FALLUJAH;
MOSQUE EXPLOSION KILLS 10 IRAQIS. ENRAGED CROWD BLAMES U.S. MISSILE STRIKE.;
IN BAGHDAD;
TOP U.S. ADMINISTRATOR REQUESTS MORE TROOPS TO HELP RESTORE ORDER AND SERVICES.;

BYLINE: Compiled From Wire Reports**BODY:**

FALLUJAH, Iraq — An explosion late Monday in a mosque compound in Fallujah that killed 10 Iraqis, including the mosque's spiritual leader, has enraged the city's residents and prompted calls for a holy war against the United States.

People in Fallujah said Tuesday that American forces launched a missile into the mosque, a charge the U.S. military denied.

While Fallujah, about an hour west of Baghdad, has been a hot spot of fighting between residents and U.S. troops for months, the anti-American rhetoric and threats of violent response are reaching a new peak, with calls for Islamic jihad, or holy war.

In Washington, President Bush said Tuesday that anti-American violence was expected because loyalists of ousted leader Saddam Hussein will stop at nothing to regain power.

"These groups believe they have found an opportunity to harm America, to shake our resolve in the war on terror, and to cause us to leave Iraq before freedom is fully established," Bush said. "They are wrong and they will not succeed.

"There will be no return to tyranny in Iraq," he said.

Elsewhere in Iraq, violence continued. In Baghdad, two rocket-propelled grenade attacks on American troops in Humvee patrols injured a total of six soldiers and killed one Iraqi interpreter. U.S. troops shot and killed two Iraqis in a vehicle that didn't stop at a checkpoint that was set up to protect a visiting delegation of American senators.

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IRAQIS CALL FOR U.S. BLOOD;IN WASHINGTON;PRESIDENT BUSH VOWS THERE WILL

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GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Where 10 died. A cleric stands Tuesday near the rubble of a mosque in Fallujah, Iraq, that an explosion decimated late Monday. Many in the city blamed a U.S. missile.

BULLIT MARQUEZ/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

BOX: CASUALTIES IN IRAQ

Number of U.S. combat and noncombat deaths from the start of the war until President Bush declared major combat over on May 1: 138

Number of U.S. combat and noncombat deaths since May 1: 65

Number of U.S. combat deaths since May 1: 24

Number of British combat deaths since May 1: 6

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The Philadelphia Inquirer

JULY 2, 2003 Wednesday CITY-D EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 830 words

HEADLINE: Grim signs of guerrilla war;
Cycle of attack, counterattack suggests troubling Iraq scenario.

BYLINE: Tom Lasseter KNIGHT RIDDER NEWS SERVICE

DATELINE: BAGHDAD

BODY:

Two months after President Bush declared major combat over in Iraq, stealthy enemies are still firing at American soldiers, killing 25 so far.

In response, U.S. commanders have unleashed repeated military raids – Operation Peninsula north of Baghdad, Operation Desert Scorpion west of Baghdad, and Operation Sidewinder in western and central Iraq – to root out pockets of resistance. The raids have netted hundreds of arrests but have created new waves of hostility among the Iraqi people.

The pattern of attack and counterattack looks like classic guerrilla warfare, in which a weaker foe attacks in the place of his choosing, then melts into the population. The harder an occupying force pounds back, the more it alienates the populace, creating communities that accept, if not actively support, armed resistance.

The Americans learned it the hard way in Vietnam, the Russians in Afghanistan, the British in Northern Ireland, and now, it seems, the same scenario may be unfolding in Iraq.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld told senators last week that Iraq was not, in fact, experiencing guerrilla warfare. "I don't know that I would use that word," he said.

But military officials in Iraq have for weeks described an opponent that does not appear part of a central command structure, is not well-organized, and tends to attack in ambush-style operations. The opponent promotes Iraqis' discontent by spreading rumors and disrupting basic services through sabotaging power lines.

Asked what all those pieces added up to, Maj. Sean Gibson, an Army spokesman in Baghdad, said: "I know where you're going here. I studied guerrilla warfare too."

Death for soldiers in June came from a bewildering number of directions. One soldier was hit in a rocket-propelled grenade attack at a trash pickup center. One was shot by a sniper while on patrol. A soldier investigating a carjacking was ambushed. A group of people at a checkpoint said they needed help with a sick person, then jumped out of the car and shot a soldier to death.

Coalition officials blamed the deaths on holdovers from Saddam Hussein's Baath Party. They also have mentioned the possibility of fighters coming from Iran or Syria to destabilize U.S. efforts in Iraq.

From time to time, there is word of al-Qaeda sympathizers or other terrorists.

But there has been little public airing of evidence. The closest thing to confirmation was an attack on a training camp in Rawah, close to the Syrian border to the west. At the battle scene afterward, among the body parts and trench-line graves, were empty cans of Russian AK-47 ammunition, mangled rifle parts, and empty rocket-propelled grenade crates. Some locals said the camp included Syrians who were training to fight the Americans.

Grim signs of guerrilla war; Cycle of attack, counterattack suggests trou

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While allied officials shy away from specifics, many Iraqis say the anti-coalition violence is not the result of Baathists or organized terrorist groups but ordinary citizens who are angry about what they see as an American occupation. Iraqis say the attacks are due to a rage born of the lack of electricity and water, along with soldiers searching Iraqi homes and occasionally shooting innocent civilians.

Of course, the fact that ordinary civilians are enraged doesn't mean there isn't also a resistance with an agenda fanning discontent.

There is plenty of evidence that the behavior of U.S. troops is creating its own problems:

No town has gotten more attention for ambushing American troops than Fallujah, about an hour west of Baghdad. The attacks follow an April demonstration in which more than a dozen Iraqis were killed by U.S. soldiers.

"People are still very upset. The shootings are revenge," said Taha Alwani, the town's mayor, who was installed with the blessings of U.S. troops.

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In Balad, where two American soldiers disappeared with their humvee, and then turned up dead, locals harbor resentment over what they say was an overreaction to a rocket-propelled grenade attack June 13 on a U.S. tank convoy. In the aftermath of the attack, U.S. soldiers killed seven people, including five who residents said were not connected to the violence. Local tribal customs have long dictated that a killing must be avenged either with payment or another death.

"I know there's a sense that the more combat operations we conduct . . . the more riled up they get," said Capt. John Morgan, a spokesman for the Army's V Corps. Still, Morgan said, the coalition cannot stop looking for weapons and possible militia leaders.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO;

DENIS DOYLE, Associated Press

Iraqis celebrate in front of a destroyed U.S. military vehicle in Baghdad. The vehicle was hit yesterday by a rocket-propelled grenade, one of two such attacks that injured U.S. soldiers and killed an Iraqi interpreter.

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Arab Studies Quarterly

July 1, 2003

SECTION: Pg. 29 Volume 25; Issue 3; ISSN: 02713519

LENGTH: 7699 words

HEADLINE: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF PRE-ISLAMIC POETRY: POETIC IMAGERY AND SOCIAL REALITY
IN THE MU^{sup} c[^]ALLAQAT

BYLINE: Brown, Jonathan A C

BODY:

INTRODUCTION

THE CORPUS OF JAHILI POETRY compiled during the first twohundred years of Islamic history is the product of a creative and selective process that spanned centuries of historical and religious change. It is at once the result of a pre-Islamic poetic tradition, the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Near East and the religious vision of a nascent Muslim orthodoxy. Hobbled by a dearth of historical sources for comprehending pre-Islamic Arab society, how should scholars contextualize the poetry and shed light on the Jahili; worldview?1 The classic collection of seven qapida's (al-Mif allaqat al-sabc al.tiwa;l) offers an arguably reliable sample of pre-Islamic work. The anthropological study of pastoral-nomadic societies in the Middle East provides a useftil lens for interpreting the social content of these Jahili odes and its relevance to the culture that composed them. Applying this approach to the themes of feud and food sharing prominent in the Mifallaqat suggests that common scholarly views on these two issues may reflect pre-Islamic Arabian society's perceptions of itself rather than a more methodical and precise understanding of that society. When cast in the light of well-documented societies, the singularly hyperbolic language of the Jahil literary world reveals its realistic underpinnings in their common pastoral-nomadic lifestyle. Moreover, placing the seven odes in a pastoral-nomadic setting helps reconcile the dissenting social messages within the poems. This paper suggests that scholars can utilize these anthropological methods to augment historical and comparative poetic approaches in describing Jahili society and determining poetry's place in it.

THE PROBLEM OF LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOURCES

Studies of pre-Islamic Arab society and its poetry rarely occur separately. Indeed this era presents a field in which literary and socio-historical study often intertwine to the detriment of their respective methodologies. Although the sources that inform modern scholarship about pre-Islamic life and culture originally drew on varied traditions such as akhbar (as in al-Isbahani's use of al-Baladhurl's works), eighth and ninth century genealogists such as alKalbi, Ibn al-Kalbl and Ibn Yaqzn, collection of proverbs and hadith as well as the explanations that later Muslim scholars such as al-Zawzani provided for the poetry, much of our information about the society that produced the poetry comes from the poetry itself.2 Ibn Sallam al-Jumahl's (d. 232AH / 846CE) Tabaqat fuhl al-shucara', one of our earliest works in the tabaqat genre, demonstrates the early roots of this reliance on poetry for information about the poets and their lives. The akhbar that the author includes to reconstruct the personalities of early Arab poets are little more than commentary on verses of their poetry. Ibn Sallam's confidence in the biographical value of poetry appears even more clearly when he identifies poets by their literary claims. He thus calls Labld b. Rabf a "he who fed [the hungry] when the cold Eastern wind blew," referring to the poet's description of his own generous behavior.3

An examination of the case oImaysir provides a useful example of this reliance on poetry. Western studies of Jahili poetry and society have taken the definition and social functions of maysir for granted.4 They share these notions with well-known Arabic works seeking to illuminate the nature of Jahilt society such as Ahmad al-Huffs al-Pfaya al-carabiyya

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min al-shfr al-jahili, Shawqi Dayfs al-cAsr al-jahili and Mahmud Shukri al-Alusfs Bulugh al-arab [beta] ma'rifat ahwal al-carab.⁵ All three of these works rely heavily on poetry to describe life in pre-Islamic Arabia.⁶ Al-Hufi states that his study focuses on poetry as a "powerful echo of Arab life" and thus avoids relying on "tarikh" (a vague term presumably subsuming the above mentioned sources) alone as a source for representing the Jahilu world. Yet his study consists of little more than using the amorphous body of a priori statements about Jahili society found in these un-cited "larikh" sources to confirm or interpret the meaning of poetic verses.⁷ In fact, in his illustration of maysir he either cites poetry or defers to the work of al-AlfsI, who in turn relies heavily on poetry as well as Ibn Qutayba's unique book, al-Maysir wa al-qidah. As a result both their explanations of maysir and its social uses either turn directly to poetry or duplicate Ibn Qutayba's writing.

Ibn Qutayba himself, however, admits that his quest adequately to define the rules and social uses of maysir as well as the manner in which it was played hinges on pre-Islamic poetry. He states that one cannot find such detailed information either among scholars or narrated reports, for "God cut it [maysir] off with Islam, and all that remains of it among the Bedouins is the trifling word 'yasir'." As a result, he resorts to collecting and examining all the verses of poetry concerning maysir, a methodology that he himself criticizes. Meter and rhyme, he states, not factual accuracy, truly determine the shape of poetry.⁸ It is thus clear that the extra-textual information employed (in the case of most scholars to explain poetic references to maysir and, in al-Huffs case, using poetry to affirm presupposed impressions of Jahili culture) descend to a large extent from the poetry itself.

This poses a problem for those who seek to contextualize Jahili poetry using independent socio-historical data. Of course one could argue that the received notion of maysir emerged from the same milieu that transmitted and read the poems. The true issue at hand would thus be the interaction between the texts and its eighth and ninth century readers. If one takes this stance, however, one should make no pretense of studying pre-Islamic poetry and society (as several notable scholars have done).

It may seem that our consensus on the place of maysir in Jahili society could easily be inferred from the poetry alone and that such sensible deductions require no outside information. Indeed even a cursory reading of the Mucallaqat suggests that maysir served as a way of dividing up food. Yet here the distinction is blurred between what modern scholars might infer from explanatory material drawn from such quasi-literary sources as poetic exegesis (itself un-cited and probably extracted from contemporary scholarly discourse on the topic and lexicography) and that derived from Jahili poetry alone. What would the poetry have suggested to us if we had first read it in a contextual vacuum? Modern scholars have been very critical of both pre-Islamic poetry and the Islamic historical tradition. Expedience, however, often supercedes discipline when scholars collapse the distinction between text and context, deriving the latter from the former. It is difficult to resist this temptation or challenge scholarly consensus on issues such as maysir, but doing so would at least avoid inconsistency at a theoretical level.

VARIOUS APPROACHES TO STUDYING JAHILIARAE SOCIETY

Modern Western and Arabic studies of pre-Islamic Arab society and its poetry fall into four methodological categories.

Source Approach

This approach entails an essentially uncritical view of Jahili poetry as a source for describing pre-Islamic society. A scholar can thus translate sentiments or ideas expressed in the poetry into social statements with a minimal interpretive risk. The widely-published Egyptian author Shawqi Dayf cites the following verses of the pre-Islamic poet Durayd b. al-Simma:

Then we, no doubt, are meat for the sword, and, doubtless, sometimes we feed it meat.

By a foe bent on vengeance we are attacked, our fall his cure; or we, vengeance bent, attack the foe.

Thus have we divided time in two, between us and our foe, till not a day goes by that we're in one half [shqlr] or the other.⁹

Dayf then concludes that "all the Arab tribes were like Durayd's, for they are food for the sword...they are always either attacked out of vengeance or taking vengeance themselves, and their lives are divided along these lines and into these two halves.¹⁰" Although Qayf is a primarily a literary scholar, he nonetheless chooses to make such sweeping statements about the character of pre-Islamic Arab society without considering the vast differences between literary expression as a cultural product and the culture that produced it.

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In his article on the ethics of brigand poets (al-*pcfalik*) in pre-Islamic Arabia, Adel Sulaiman Gamal adopts the same approach. While claiming to look beyond these poets' anti-societal identity and demonstrate their strong morals, Gamal does little more than accept the poetry wholesale.¹¹ Based on a verse in which a poet-bandit chastises a fat man for scorning him, Gamal asserts that some of these poets made concerted attempts to attack well-fed, fat opponents because their girth symbolized the greed that these hoods despised.¹² He thus makes no distinction between the literary or rhetorical boasts of a poet and the activities of a segment of pre-Islamic Arab society.

Literary Approach

This approach consists of scholars who make no claim of describing JaMK society but treat the poetry as a literary subject only. A reliance on the problematic literary and socio-historical information found in exegetical works such as al-Zawzanfs, however, presents a matter of contention.

Source and Tradition Critical Approach¹³

Here scholars accept that the extant corpus of pre-Islamic poetry is the product of a compilation and editorial process that extended into the early Abbassid period. Any attempt to use it as a source for Jahili Arab history must proceed from this premise. As G. Lecompte states in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, the vast majority of Western scholars have agreed on this approach.¹⁴ Although accurate, it does not provide alternative methodologies for studying pre-Islamic Arabian society.

Critical Alternative Approach

After accepting the constraints inherent in the Source and Tradition Critical Approach, the recourse is to alternative disciplines that compensate for the lack of historical material. Unfortunately little work has been done in this direction. Suzanne Stetkevych states that "modern critics from both the East and West have yet to formulate a poetics through which to analyze and evaluate¹⁵" pre-Islamic qasida poetry. Her comment applies aptly to the use of this poetry in the study of pre-Islamic society. In a field where historical sources are sparse, Stetkevych looks to the anthropological study of human ritual to determine the structure of the poetry, its place within the social conscience of Jahili Arabs and its function in their communities.

PREMISES: THE MU^{sup} C[^] ALLAQAT AS A RELIABLE SOURCE

In the study of Jahili poetry and society, scholars have faced difficulty separating textual interpretation from the social environment that they have envisioned surrounding the literature itself. The absence of any extant period sources providing a comprehensive picture of pre-Islamic Arab society has hampered the attempts of both Muslim and Western scholars to reconstruct that world. The editorial role of the early Islamic scholarly tradition that bequeathed us both Jahili poetry and the entire corpus of Islamic historical material have further encumbered such efforts.

This paper proceeds from a well-founded assumption about the nature of pre-Islamic poetry, particularly the classic collection of the seven Mifallaqat,¹⁶ and the character of historical and literary transmission in the early Islamic world. Although the process of compilation and editing almost certainly contributed some apocryphal material, we should view the form and content of the mifallaqat as "fixed, if not stereotypical, specimens of a poetic tradition—already very old [read pre-Islamic] – vigorously flourishing in different parts of the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁷"

This thesis affirms that the Mifallaqat should be viewed as reliable written examples of the pre-Islamic oral poetic tradition. Although transmission and recension must have left some imprint on these classic works, to the Arab Muslims who conveyed and compiled them they were the epitome of a literary era still fresh in their minds. M.J. Kister's work on the origins of the Mtfallaqat collection supports this notion, as he states that the poems were collected as early as the reign of Mu^{sup} c[^] awiya in order to instruct Umayyad princes about their pre-Islamic heritage.¹⁸

TRIBAL PASTORAL NOMADIC SOCIETIES: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO JAHILI POETRY

This article is not an attempt holistically to reproduce Jahili society on the basis of a handful of literary products. Rather it extrapolates from numerous twentieth century studies of pastoral-nomadic, segmentary lineage¹⁹ societies in order to frame specific themes of pre-Islamic poetry in a social context. This paper examines the relationship between well-documented societies' "native" self-perceptions, the manner in which they view and explain themselves, and the realities lying behind those perceptions. It then extrapolates from these societies to pre-Islamic Arabia and its native self-perceptions as expressed in the Mifallaqat.

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Using such case studies, however, and the broader conclusions that they have yielded is a delicate task. Such analogies depend on effectively defining the subjects under comparison in order to provide accurate deductions. In any case they can only serve as models or approximations.

The case studies involved in this paper cover the following societies:

The Bedouin of the Negev and Syrian Deserts: these Arabic speaking, pastoral nomadic tribes live in arid and desert areas. Limited agriculture, goat and sheep herding are their principle food sources.

The Bedouin of Cyrenaica and their cousins in the Northwestern Desert of Egypt: these Arabic speaking pastoral-nomadic tribes (under the overarching Soda clan that includes the Awlad CAK in Egypt) live between the sparse desert lowlands in southern Cyrenaica and the coastal highlands. They depend on limited agriculture, goat, sheep and camel herding.

The Shammar, Rwala and cAnaza tribes in Northern Najd: these Arabic speaking pastoral-nomadic tribes inhabit the arid and semi-arid region surrounding Jabal Shammar in north-central Saudi Arabia. The scant rainfall is still sufficient for forage growth for goats, sheep and camels. Jabal Shammar also has many wells, so oasis agriculture has been a mainstay for the people.²⁰

The Ogaden nomads of the south-eastern Somali highlands: these Somali speaking, Sunni Muslim pastoral nomads raise sheep, goat and camels and cultivate limited crops in arid and semi-arid environments.

ANALOGY BETWEEN KNOWN AND UNKNOWN

The former diagram demonstrates the process of analogy and extrapolation used in this essay:

1. Studying the relationship between a documented society's native self-perception and its social context.
2. Finding the same native self-perception in an undocumented society.
3. Extrapolating the social context of this native self-perception into the undocumented society based on strong structural similarities between the societies.

This process is certainly controversial. At its heart lie the contention that "Bedouin society never changes" and the bipolar division of history into pre-modern and modern communities.²¹ No one will ever be able to prove conclusively that pre-modern Najd or Egypt's Western Desert breed societies similar or identical to those of pre-Islamic Arabia. Yet the crucial question is thus not whether societies have changed, but whether or not those changes affect the structural comparisons being made. Despite the tremendous socio-economic changes that the people of Central Saudi Arabia have undergone in the past forty years, one can nevertheless state that marriage customs in Najd have demonstrated remarkable continuity until today. Najd Bedouins may now live in spacious houses, receive university educations and drive Mercedes, but marriage outside a limited number of families (and certainly outside the ranks of tribal Najdi's) remains highly unlikely for women.

The most glaring distinction between Jahili Arabia and twentieth century Arab societies is the presence of Islam itself. While this no doubt appears to constitute a huge societal change, a closer examination reveals that it may have little to do with many aspects of society. Most importantly, many Muslim Bedouin societies had little regard for Islam until the expansion of the Wahhabi and Salafi movements. Alois Musil, a Czech ethnographer who traveled throughout northern Najd following the First World War, noted that the Rwala nomads felt that "Islam is weak, as it cannot free the settlers [settled peoples] from their miseries." he further describes the Rwala notion of Paradise as a place "below ground" where all the Rwala live prosperously. A scholar comparing Northern Najdi Bedouins with pre-Islamic Arabs would thus conclude that orthodox Islamic dogma or even a general reverence for the faith pose no barrier between the two societies. Moreover, even the Muslim identity of a more pious Bedouin society may have no affect on its social structure. Although they are Muslims, it is blood relations, marriage and client-patron relationships that dictate social structure among the Awlad CAH Bedouin of Egypt.

It is also important to note that the livelihood of pastoral nomadic societies does not depend entirely on animal husbandry. Although meat, milk and other animal products play an important role in their lifestyle, they need the grains and manufactured products that are available only in settled agricultural settings. Pastoral nomadic societies thus include settled and semi-settled communities, spanning a spectrum from those Bedouins solely occupied with herding to oasis farmers. Although tribes such as Shammar certainly include nomads in the traditional sense of the word, they also contain

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more settled agricultural communities. Even within a lifetime poverty or famine may force a nomad to seek work or refuge in the settled areas of his tribe.²²

The forced or voluntary settlement of nomadic communities has been an important feature of modern state-building in the Middle East. King ^cAbd al^{sup} c^{sup}AzTz of Saudi Arabia understood that corralling armed Bedouin and bringing them under government rule was crucial for his strong central rule. With the exception of a minority, the Bedouin of Egypt's Western Desert have also settled and accepted state authority.

This does not undermine the use of case studies, however. Emrys Peter's research in Cyrenaica predates serious mass sedentarization. Also, the study on Najd Bedouins (carried out in the 1960's) used in this paper focuses only on customs and social institutions that present distinct continuities with pre-settled Saudi Arabia. Regardless, these case studies encompass both settled and un-settled nomadic groups. As the sedentary lifestyle of seventh-century Mecca clearly demonstrates, pre-Islamic Arabia was a land of nomadic and settled activity. Despite the striking desert imagery that sets the Mu^{sup} c^{sup} allaqat apart as literary wonders, the society that produced them was one of both steppe and sown.

With the exception of the Somali-speaking Ogaden nomads, all the above mentioned groups are Arabic speaking pastoral-nomadic societies consisting of segmentary lineage groups. Moreover, they trace their descent, customs and cultural sensibilities to the same peninsular Arab environment that hosted pre-Islamic Arabian society. In the case of Shammar, Rwala and ^cAnaza the physical environments are effectively identical, although flora, fauna and have probably decreased since pre-Islamic times. The coastal highlands of the Hyaz, with their arid environment and vtW/-based grain and date agriculture are also similar to Egypt and Cyrenaica's northwestern desert coasts.²³ The combined study of Egyptian/Libyan nomads and those in Jabal Shammar and Northern Najd thus effectively bracket the geographical setting of pre-Islamic Arab society. In addition, the macro-level of technology and infrastructure present in Cyrenaica during Emrys Peter's fieldwork there after the second World War and in Jabal Shammar until the late 1940's resembled those in preIslamic times. Medicine, communications and transportation means remained essentially unchanged.²⁴

Differences between these groups and their topographical and demographical features do exist, but they are insignificant for the scope of this paper. Emanuel Marx admits the serious differences between the Rwala nomads living in the Syrian Desert in the present day and their ancestors who lived near Khaybar in the Hijaz until at least the early twentieth century.²⁵ Such emphasis, however, is misleading for the scope of this paper, as Marx uses various nomadic groups including the Rwala to reach conclusions about pastoral-nomadic tribes in the greater Middle East, a geographical area larger and even more diverse than the one covered in this paper.

Conversely, Michael Meeker's study of literature and violence among the Rwala Bedouins represents the other extreme in social comparison. He states that the nomads of Cyranecia are not comparable to the Rwala because the former live in a closer and more productive relationship with the land.²⁶ This statement is only correct, however, if you limit the definition of "Rwala" to the more purely pastoral-nomadic sections of that society and ignore the Cyrenacian nomads who practice no agriculture at all. The scope in which one defines societies thus determines the extent of their comparability. This paper relies only on broad conclusions like those of E. Marx, not characteristics specific to certain tribes or local environments. It makes no attempt to argue global structural comparisons between societies. Rather, the comparison between preIslamic society and these relatively modern peoples depends on specific socioeconomic, climatic and cultural similarities.

FEUDS: NATIVE AND OUTSIDE VIEWS

Muslim and Western scholarly consensus on the character of preIslamic Arabia describes a society plagued by constant blood feuds and intertribal wars. For authors like Dayf and others this notion stems from the extensive body of poetry and ayyam literature collected and appreciated in the early Islamic cultural milieu. These sources transmit the voices of pre-Islamic poets and storytellers themselves, depicting their world and social reality as they perceived it. To heed what anthropologists term "native descriptions" alone, however, ignores the paradigmatic bounds that constrain a society's ability to accurately portray itself.²⁷ While anthropologists may not grasp all the important aspects of social function and structure, that society's self-image is not necessarily more comprehensive or impartial.

Case studies conducted on the nomadic tribes in Palestine, Libya and Najd portray groups that define crucial dimensions of their native identity in terms of feud and conflict but also realistically depend on peaceful relations and cooperation. Emanuel Marx states that Middle Eastern Bedouins "usually represent their society as a series of discrete and disputing groups...torn by violent conflicts and by the relentless pursuit of revenge." The author later adds that the native identity of pastoral-nomadic society hinges on this notion of a warrior people. "The nomad, steeped all his life in this ideology, sincerely believes that this is the real essence of his society....²⁸"

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Emrys Peters arrives at a similar but more specific conclusion in his study of Cyrenaican Bedouins. Describing the nature of feuds between secondary tribal groups²⁹ Peters stresses the native insistence that any killing between such separate groups must be due to similar killings in the past. Drawing some real or imagined link between the latest killing and some distant act of violence, the pastoral-nomad affirms that such conflicts are ancient and endless. Peters explains this phenomenon by saying that exaggerated, timeless feuds between secondary tribal groups are essential for these groups to justify their existence as two distinct, corporate bodies. In the absence of some feud, how could the nomad explain why these two groups of relatives, joined by the sacred bond of blood, have parted ways or fallen out?³⁰

In his study of oral historical narrative among the Shammar and ^{sup}c[^]Anaza tribes in Najd, Saad Sowayan notices a similar phenomenon of anchoring disagreements in past conflict. He focuses on the manner in which story tellers recited tales (salfih) about the fight between a Shammar warrior and a hero of ^{sup}c[^]Anaza as well as the subsequent attempts at revenge. Although this conflict occurred in approximately 1835 during the establishment of the Rashid dynasty in Jabal Shammar, poets and amateur storytellers still invoked it during 1960's. Despite the end of inter-tribal fighting with the consolidation of the Saudi state, minor disagreements over land still spark poetic and narrative exchanges between members of these two tribes. Both sides invariably refer to the victories they won and the slights they suffered in that distant feud. Even in 1968, the publication of a book that seemed to favor the ^{sup}c[^]Anaza led Shammar bards and poets to disseminate their version of the conflict more actively.³¹

These studies provide a clear social context for a vast portion of Jahili poetry. Given the important role the feud plays in Bedouin self-image as well as their method of explaining social relations and conflict, poems such as Durayd b. Simma's should not be treated literally.

In stark contrast to the native view of feuds found in much of Jahili poetry, the pastoral-nomads in Najd, Palestine and Libya have found cooperation indispensable. Excessive violence threatens the access to shared pastures and resources essential to survival and may also endanger important social institutions. Marx states that the nomadic need to migrate in search for water and pastures requires different sections of tribes to share grazing land. In fact notions of kinship are sometimes determined by such needs.³² When strong clans control access to an area of pasture in the Negev desert and Libya only groups related by blood or marriage receive permission make use of these resources.³³ For lesser clans it is thus family and specifically marital relations that enable survival, not martial prowess. The Mu^{sup}c[^] fallaq of al-Harith b. Hilliza thus takes on different significance in this light. He extols the might and skill of his tribe's warriors claiming:

53. And we struck them with our spears with such force that the shafts wobbled in their bodies as a bucket wobbles in a deep well.

54. And we disposed of them in a manner that only God can comprehend, and there is no blood vengeance left to be taken by those who fought.³⁴

In his attempt to seal a treaty with the enemy tribe of Taghlib under the auspices of the king GAMr b. Hind, however, the poet makes a veiled plea to the distant marital relations between his tribe and the king's ancestors.³⁵ He then proceeds:

62. [Relations] such as this bring forth friendship to the tribe, a tract of desert and beside it deserts more.³⁶

Despite the bloody and stylized inter-tribal violence that characterizes much of al-Harith's poem, he calls upon the king to heed less masculine bonds. Furthermore, his analogy turns on connected tracts of land (and water, presumably), the true issue at stake in pastoral-nomadic society.

Peters also states that groups located next to each other and sharing resources are much more likely to resolve conflicts or homicides quickly and peacefully than those with less frequent contact.³⁷ A murder involving two members of tertiary groups sharing resources should be paid for immediately with blood money. In order to prevent the outbreak of a feud, both parties will deny any connection between subsequent crimes and the original murder even if they are clearly related.³⁸

Beyond disrupting cooperation and shared pasture, feuds and violence can threaten the social fabric of tribal society. Peters states that any murder that occurs within a tertiary tribal group, the smallest corporate unit in the Bedouin social structure, is kept private and dealt with quickly. For these nomads, any such clashes within the unit charged with providing itself with daily needs in addition to a common defense from outside threats is unacceptable and must not deteriorate into feuding. Similarly, any set battles between groups from the same tribe were fought with sticks or other non-lethal weapons in order to minimize damage to the tribe.³⁹ para b. al-^{sup}c[^]Abd's prodigal behavior towards his family and his slaughter of an old man's (presumably from the same clan) she-camel thus stands in stark contrast with incident that

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sparked the famous pre-Islamic War of Basus. In response to Tarafa's crime, the old man only laments:

90. No, by your life...what do you make of this hardened drunkard heaping his willful excesses upon us?

91. Let him go, they said, let him take what he's taken, but keep the kneeling troop [of camels] away or he'll go on killing.⁴⁰

The wayward poet's excessive behavior and his act of theft are therefore tolerated. Between the large tribes of Bakr and Taghlib, however, one tribe's killing of the other's stray camel precipitated the legendary forty-year war of Basus.⁴¹ Whether this conflict was magnified in hindsight or whether it actually reached such a bloody extent is immaterial; to the Jahili society that produced the legend of Basus it was conceivable for two tribes to make war over such an issue. The old man robbed of his she-camel by one of his kin in Tarafa's poem did not.

The Mu^{sup} c[^] allaqat contain other glimpses of these more realistic mores and offer an alternative vision of pre-Islamic social ethics more compatible with those of Middle Eastern pastoral nomads. In the didactic proverb movement that distinguishes Zuhayr b. AbT Sulma's mu^{sup} c[^] allaqa from the other classic odes, the poet cautions his audience:

And he who doesn't conduct the bulk of his affairs with diplomacy and compromise; he'll be ground up by the camel's teeth and crushed by its hooves.⁴²

This advice diametrically opposes Tarafa's anti-social behavior as well as ^{sup} c[^]Amr's declarative warning to his enemies on behalf of his tribe:

Then let no one deal brashly with us, for we'll respond with brashness dwarfing even the most impudent and impetuous folk.⁴³

This disparity comes as no surprise, for these three poems play two different rhetorical roles. Reflecting the grazing and cooperative demands governing pastoral-nomadic society, Zuhayr's ode praises the two shaykhs who negotiated an end to tribal strife and pleads with the tribes' young firebrands to respect the truce. ^{sup} c[^]Amr's bombastic statements, however, may reflect the converse role of feuds in pastoral-nomadic segmentary structure. Like the Shammar poets and storytellers or the Cyrenaician Bedouins, ^{sup} c[^]Amr's poem seems to use epic language to make social sense of the conflict between Bakr and Taghlib. The ubiquitous descriptions of battles, killing and revenge should be viewed as the self-proclamations of a "warrior society," not descriptions of pre-Islamic Arabia.

SCARCITY AND GENEROSITY

Like pastoral nomads in other desert climates, life for the people of the northern Arabian Peninsula during pre-Islamic times was harsh and depended on subsistence herding and agriculture. This continued until recent times, for elderly inhabitants of Najd and Jabal Shammar still recall the frightening poverty of pre-oil Saudi Arabia.⁴⁴ The anthropological study on the effects of food deprivation and famine on societies, however, has faced the practical and moral difficulties inherent in the subject; in such times of hardship it is difficult to isolate social science variables and impossible to refrain from intervening with support. Nonetheless researchers have documented various societal reactions to both perennial scarcity and years of extreme famine.⁴⁵

While family bonds generally remain intact despite severe shortages, food sharing with relatives and friends decreases significantly. "Individuals drop friends and extended kin from food-sharing networks," states Robert Dirks, "restricting generalized reciprocity to close relatives." Despite their predictability, annual food shortages can also lead to a "sociology of hoarding" in which food stores are hidden or denied to all but the closest kin. This even occurs in societies that pride themselves on generosity.⁴⁶ When deprivation exceeds the expected perennial difficulties and the community enters into an unusually harsh famine, food-sharing can dwindle even further. M. J. Murray notes that among the famine-stricken Ogaden nomads in Somalia:

family groups...tended to shun all others...The effects of these attitudes were striking, the worst being the complete disregard for the health and welfare of immediate neighbors who did not happen to be members of the family.⁴⁷

The case of Somali nomads housed in famine shelters is certainly extreme, but it illustrates the harshest end of the famine spectrum.

Generosity and hospitality have always featured prominently in Arab nomadic values, constituting an important aspect of murū'a (manliness) and Cir4 (honor).⁴⁸ Labld b. Rabfa extols his generosity, proclaiming:

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And how many a chilly morning hi which the reins of the cold had fallen into the hands of the frigid North Wind, have I [eased the people's suffering] with food.

Speaking of his munificence when distributing food by maysir, he adds:

I tell the [maysir players] to slaughter a she-camel, barren or pregnant, her meat given to all our neighbors.

Finally Labid honors his tribe as a whole:

They are Spring to those around them and the client-farmers when their year grows long (i.e. when their food stores dwindle).⁴⁹

To Labid this generosity is crucial for asserting both his own greatness and that of his tribe. Much like the role that reanimating an ancient feud allowed Shammar poets to underscore their honor, so does such proverbial generosity exist in the liminal area between real actions and rhetoric. Labid gives food both on a daily basis and in times of need. Moreover, his tribe is a refuge for the cultivators whose harvests have proven feeble.

One of the salient features of pre-Islamic poetry, however, is its penchant for hyperbole. "Antara's descriptions of battles and cAmr b. Kulthum's tribe strapping pack-loads of skulls to their camels⁵⁰ clearly belong to realm of literary devices and not accurate descriptions of reality. Given the tendency of human societies to limit food-sharing during perennial shortages, Labid's boasting should be interpreted as the hyperbolic expression of an ideal and not necessarily as common practice. The same approach applies when ^sup c^Amr b. Kulthum avers:

104. [And all the tribes of Ma0add know] that we are those who protect [the hungry] in every year of famine⁵¹, and that we are givers to those who ask gifts of us.⁵²

If in a year of famine a clan or family tends to collapse inwardly and limit its food-sharing to a circle of close relatives, cAmr's grandiose statement seems unrealistic. It stresses his tribe's proximity to the society's professed values as opposed to actually describing their actions. That material constraints and not the ideal of munificence actually determine food-sharing appears later in the "Amr's mrfallaqa:

95. [And all the tribes of MaeauWknow] that we are those who feed others when we are able, and that we are the destroyers when tested.⁵³

Even the hyperbolic tone of the Mifallaqât thus has its limits. As a result, poetic claims such as those of LabTd and °Amr should be viewed in the same light as other exaggerated and hyperbolic topoi in pre-Islamic poetry. Zuhayr's didactic imfallaqa again confirms this perception. he counsels his listeners:

51. And he who has great fortune and withholds it from his clan is cast aside and derided...And he who gives their due to those who do not deserve it (? ghayri ahlihi) their praise will be his demeaning and he'll regret it.⁵⁴

These two verses straddle the obligations and limits of generosity within the pastoral-nomadic social paradigm. Distributing wealth and food, to relatives (Zuhayr is not specifically concerned with famine) is obligatory, but generosity beyond these bounds incurs material and societal risks. This distinction may explain the semantic overlap between ahl as "kin" and "something that deserves or merits something.⁵⁵ " For the native perception of values in tribal, pastoral-nomadic Arabia, social obligation and family relations were identical. Resources must be kept within the kinship group. Even the praise that a hero like Labid seeks with his magnanimous poetic claims will therefore turn to criticism if transferred to the desert's harsh social terrain. That cAmr's poem specifically deals with feeding outsiders places further it in the realm of literary imagination.

CONCLUSION

Like the study of Biblical literature, traditional Muslim and Western scholarship on pre-Islamic poetry has often lapsed into circular reasoning. Regardless of the paucity of extra-textual sources, one cannot plumb the text of a poem for the socio-historical context needed to interpret it. Although scholars may be comfortable with many of the conclusions drawn through this method, in theory it remains highly problematic. Yet few scholars have offered alternative methodologies. Suzanne Stetkevych has proposed that structuralist theories of ritual can help us understand pre-Islamic poetry, but many social scientists fault applying such universal thinking to specific cases. By limiting our comparison to societies that share socio-economic, climatic, linguistic and cultural characteristics with what we do know of JaHiK Arabia, however, we can extrapolate social context without excessive generalization. Our understanding of historically well-documented societies can thus help explain the poetry of a vanished era.

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While the seven classic odes do not represent all aspects of Jahili society, many scholars believe that they are essentially authentic. Along with other genres of Jahili poetry, the Mu^{sup} c[^] allaqat sing of a society in which killing was rampant and extreme generosity the plain mark of honorable men. Studying the place of feuds and food-sharing within nomadic societies, however, undermines these literary claims. For the nomads of Cyrenaica, Najd and the Negev feuding can explain social relations rather than disrupt them, and promoting cooperation often outweighs honor. In poor societies plagued by famine, sharing food may be a rhetorical boast more than a practice. That voices, such as Zuhayr b. AbT Sulma's, within the Mifallaqat echo these realistic social constraints reinforces the conclusions drawn from the case studies. Contextualizing these voices can help scholars distinguish between literary product and social reality.

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INTERVIEWS

65 year-old Shammari woman and family: Washington, D.C., November 2001.

57 year-old Nejdi woman: Washington, D.C., November 2001.

10 informal individual and group interviews with Awlad Ali men, ages 20 to approximately 60 years-old: Marsa Matruh and environs, Egypt, July 2000-June 2001.

Shaykh **Taha** Jabir Al-**Alwani**, School of Islamic Social Sciences: Washington, D.C., December 2001.

The corpus of Jahili poetry compiled during the first two hundred years of Islamic history is the product of a creative and selective process that spanned centuries of historical and religious change. Applying this approach to the themes of feud and food sharing prominent in the Muallaqat suggests that common scholarly views on these two issues may reflect pre-Islamic Arabian society's perceptions of itself rather than a more methodical and precise understanding of that society. Brown stresses that scholars can utilize these anthropological methods to augment historical and comparative poetic approaches in describing Jahili society and determining poetry's place in it.

NOTES: Copyright Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc. Summer 2003 | ENDNOTES | 1. The terms Jahili and pre-Islamic will be used interchangeably in this essay. Also, it should be noted that the corpus of pre-Islamic poetry deals only with Northern and Western Arabia from the sixth century CE on. Any references to pre-Islamic Arabia or its culture should be considered within this geographical and chronological context. | 2. For a summary of the assumptions found in secondary source literature on the subject of late pre-Islamic Arabia (sixth and seventh centuries CE) see Robert Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (London: Routledge, 2001), 9. Fully two-thirds of Hoyland's citations concerning pre-Islamic society consist of poetry. | 3. Ibn Sallarn al-Jumalji, *Jabaqat fuhul al-shucara'*, Mahmud Muhammad Shakir (ed.), Vol. I (Cairo: Dar l-macarif li-al-Taba^sup c^a wa al-Nashr, 1952), 114. | 4. In his *Arabia and the Arabs*, Robert Hoyland addresses picking lots as a religious affair and not in the social context referred to in pre-Islamic poetry. Hoyland relies on information from Ibn Hisham's *Sra* and Ibn al-Kalbl for this information. see Hoyland, 155-156. | 5. I was unfortunately unable to find a copy of Nasir al-Dih Asad's important work *Masadir al-shfr al-jahili v/a qimatuha al-tarikhiyya* (Cairo: Dar al-Macanf, 1962). | 6. These were the only works I found dealing with life in pre-Islamic Arabia as more than a tangent of historical study. It is no coincidence that attempts at studying Jahili life, not history, cannot be separated from the study of poetry, for it provides the only non-hadith, tangible reference to pre-Islamic life. | 7. Ahmad al-Hufi, *al-Ifaya al-carabiyya min al-shfr al-jahili* (Cairo: MaktabatNahdat Misr, 1962), 3-4. | 8. 'Abd Allah ibn Qutayba, *al-Maysir wa al-qidah*, Muhibb al-DIn Khatlb (ed.), (Cairo: al-MaJbac al-Salafiyya, 1385H.), 26. | 9. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 63. | 10. ShawqlDayf, *al-Asr al-jahili* (Cairo: Dar al-macarif, 1962), 64. | 11. Adel Sulaiman Gamal, "The Ethical Values of Brigand Poets in pre-Islamic Arabia," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 5-6 (1977): 290. | 12. Gamal, "The Ethical Values of Brigand Poets in Pre-Islamic Arabia," 292, n. 5-6. | 13. This term is borrowed from Fred Dormer's description of the most historiographically sensitive approach to the sources of early Islamic history. It not only maintains a critical approach to the textual sources of that history, it also treats the development of the Muslim historiographical tradition and its effect on maturing sources as a factor in shaping perceptions of Islamic history. see Fred M. Dormer, *Narratives of Islamic Origins* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1998), 13. | 14. G. Lecompte, "Mucallakat," *Ef* Vol. 8: 255. | 15. Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, xi. | 16. Although other mu^sup c^allaqat collections contains nine or ten odes, they always share seven common poems: those of Imru' al-Qays, Tarafa b. al^sup c^Abd, Zuhayr b. AbT Sulma, Labid b. Rabfa, ^sup c^Amru b. Kulthum, "Antara b. Shaddad and al-Harith b. riilliza. This paper focuses on these seven poems only. | 17. Lecompte, *Ef*, 255. | 18. See MJ. Kister, *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam* (London: Variorum, 1980). | 19. The concept of segmentary lineage theory has spawned fierce debate within the discipline of anthropology since the 1930's. Initially segmentary lineage theory described tribal, stateless societies as a "form of ordered anarchy" in which groups tracing their ancestry back to a common progenitor effectively order their society by balancing their interests in a common effort to use shared resources and provide security from outside threats [Roger Webster, "Hijra and the Dissemination of Wahhabi Doctrine

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in Saudi Arabia," in *Golden Roads*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1993), 16]. Later work revealed that, although these segments of society considered themselves social equals in relation to their common descent, some clearly exercised more power and influence than others. Segmentary theory was thus too simplistic. The discrepancy between how anthropologists applying segmentation theory believed these societies should function and their actual behavior was later explained by recognizing the myriad of other social institutions at work. Factors such as marital bonds and client-patron relations thus proved as important as the agnatic and patrilineal order that anthropologists had used to predict social activity. References to this debate can be found in seminal works on the subject such as Evans-Pritchard's study of the Nuer of the Upper Nile and Emrys Peters' work on the Bedouin of Cyrenaica as well as a host of other books and articles. | 20. Helen Chapin Metz, (ed.), *Saudi Arabia: a country study* (Lanham: Bernan Press, 1993), 58. | 21. Michael E. Meeker, *Literature and Violence in North Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 23-24, 105. Cited from Musil. | 22. For more detail see Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs*, 81 for a discussion of the settled/nomadic spectrum as well as the definitions of agropastoralism, transhumance and nomadic pastoralism. | 23. The Awlad [^]sup c[^]Ali Bedouins of northwestern Egypt rely on sparse rainfall, rainwater wells and run-off courses for their grain and fruit production. | 24. A 65 year old Shammari woman recalls that the first electric generators were for government use only. Even after the introduction of such limited infrastructure, it was years before larger sections of the public were able to use it. Interview: December, 2001. | 25. Emanuel Marx, "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence: Nomadic Pastoralism in the Middle East," *American Anthropology* 79 (1977): 348. | 26. Meeker, *Literature and Violence in North Arabia*, 193-4. | 27. For a usage of the concept of a native view as opposed to an outside anthropological description see Marx, "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence: Nomadic Pastoralism in the Middle East," 355, No. 79. | 28. Marx, "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence: Nomadic Pastoralism in the Middle East," 355-6, No. 79. | 29. Secondary tribal groups are the segmentary group made up of several tertiary groups and composing the primary clan groups of the tribe. Tertiary groups are the minimal lineage group, the smallest corporate entity that lives and migrates together and is responsible for communal defense and revenge. The tribe is the maximal lineage group, the largest kinship category in which the individual places his identity. | 30. Peters, *The Bedouin of Cyrenaica*, 67. The poet Tufayl's verse also seems pertinent here: "our two tribes have always been enemies and always will be; to this day we have never started any relationship with you, nor do you find any with us tracing back our genealogies." Cited from Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs*, 116. | 31. Saad A. Sowayan, *The Arabian Oral Historical Narrative* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 11-12. | 32. Marx, "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence: Nomadic Pastoralism in the Middle East," 351, No. 79. | 33. Marx, "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence: Nomadic Pastoralism in the Middle East." | 34. Ibn Ahmad al-Zawzani, *Sharh al-mucallaqat al-sabc al-tiwal* (Beirut: Dar al-Arqam, n.d.), 248. | 35. Capt. F.E. Johnson, trans., *The Seven Suspended Poems* (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 228-229. | 36. Al-Zawzani, *Sharh al-mucallaqat al-sabc al-tiwal*, 249. | 37. Peters, *The Bedouin of Cyrenaica*, 63. | 38. Peters, *The Bedouin of Cyrenaica*, 64-65. | 39. Peters, *The Bedouin of Cyrenaica*, 68. | 40. Michael Sells, trans., "The Mucallaqa of Tarafa," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 17 (19&6): 21. | 41. Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 208. | 42. Al-Zawzani, *Sharh al-mu[^]sup c[^]allaqat al-sabc al-tiwal*, 135. | 43. This translation is not exactly literal, as the repetitive nature of Arabic emphatics do not suit English stylistics. The text of the verse is: ala la yajhalan ahadun calayna - fanajhala fawqa jahli al-jahillna. Al-Zawzani, *Shark al-mucallaqat al-sab0 al-tiwal*, 204. | 44. Interviews conducted with two families originally from Jabal Shammar whose parents were born in the late 1930's. | 45. Robert Dirks, "Social Responses during Severe Food Shortages and Famine," *Current Anthropology* 21 (1980) 22. | 46. Dirks, "Social Responses during Severe Food Shortages and Famine," 28, no. 21. | 47. Dirks, "Social Responses during Severe Food Shortages and Famine," 29, no. 21. Cited from MJ. Murray et als., "Somali Food Shelters in the Ogaden Famine and their Impact on Health," *Lancet* 1 (1976): 1285 | 48. B. Fares, "Muruw'a," *El2*. Vol. 7, 636-638. | 49. Al-Zawzani, *Shark al-mucallaqat al-sabc al-tiwal*, 179-184. | 50. Al-Zawzani, *Shark al-rmf allaqat al-sabc al-tiwal*, 190. | 51 Ibid | 52. Johnson, *The Seven Suspended Poems*, 163. This verse is not included in al-Zawani's recension. | 53. Al-Zawzani, *Shark al-rmf allaqat al-sabc al-tiwal*, 210. | 54. Al-Zawzani, *Shark al-mif allaqat al-sab0 al-tiwal*, 150. | 55. See Al-Qamus al-muhit (Beirut: Dirasa, 1996), 963-964. | Jonathan A.C. Brown is a PhD candidate in the Near Eastern Languages and Cultures Department, University of Chicago.;

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JULY 1, 2003 Tuesday FINAL EDITION

SECTION: FRONT; Pg. 8A

LENGTH: 838 words

HEADLINE: IRAQI ATTACKS, U.S. RAIDS CREATE NEW CYCLE OF ANGER

BYLINE: TOM LASSETER, Knight Ridder News Service

DATELINE: BAGHDAD

BODY:

Two months after President Bush declared major combat over in Iraq, stealthy enemies are still killing and wounding American and allied soldiers – five killed and 22 wounded in May, 20 killed and 39 wounded in June.

In response, American commanders have unleashed repeated military raids – Operation Peninsula north of Baghdad, Operation Desert Scorpion west of Baghdad and Operation Sidewinder in western and central Iraq – to root out those pockets of resistance.

On Monday, U.S. forces detained 180 people, including an Iraqi colonel, in raids in Baghdad and north of the capital as part of Operation Sidewinder. To the south, troops arrested the U.S.-appointed mayor of Najaf on corruption charges, along with 62 of his associates.

The raids have netted hundreds of arrests but also have created new waves of anger and hostility among the Iraqi people.

The pattern of attack and counterattack looks like classic guerrilla warfare, in which a weaker foe attacks in the place of his choosing, then melts into the population. The harder an occupying force pounds back, the more it alienates the populace, creating communities that accept, if not actively support, armed resistance.

The Americans learned it the hard way in Vietnam, the Russians in Afghanistan, the British in Northern Ireland and now, it seems, the same scenario may be unfolding in Iraq.

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld told senators last week that Iraq is not, in fact, experiencing guerrilla warfare. "I don't know that I would use that word," he said.

But military officials in Iraq have for weeks described an opponent that doesn't appear part of a central command structure, isn't well organized and tends to attack in ambush-style operations. The opponent promotes Iraqis' discontent by spreading rumors and disrupting basic services through sabotaging power lines and, possibly, assassinating a Baghdad electricity official.

Asked what all those pieces add up to, Maj. Sean Gibson, a top Army spokesman in Baghdad, said, "I know where you're going here. I studied guerrilla warfare too."

Death for soldiers in June came from a bewildering number of directions. One soldier was hit in a rocket-propelled grenade attack at a trash-pickup center. One was shot by a sniper while on patrol. A soldier investigating a carjacking was ambushed. A group of people at a checkpoint said they needed help with a sick person, then jumped out of the car and shot a soldier to death.

Coalition officials blamed the deaths on holdovers from Saddam Hussein's Baath party. They also have mentioned the possibility of fighters coming from Iran or Syria to destabilize American efforts in Iraq. From time to time, there is word

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of "al Qaeda sympathizers" or "terrorist groups."

ATTACK ON CAMP

But there has been little public airing of evidence. The closest thing to confirmation was an attack on a training camp in Rawah, close to the Syrian border to the west. At the battle scene afterward, among the body parts and trench-line graves, were empty cans of Russian AK-47 ammunition, mangled rifle parts and empty rocket-propelled-grenade crates. Some locals said the camp included Syrians training to fight the Americans.

"There are all sorts of cells operating in the country," said Lt. Gen. Richard Sanchez, the top general in Iraq. Who, exactly, is in those cells? "There's a whole lot of names that are out there."

While coalition officials shy away from specifics, many Iraqis say the anti-coalition violence isn't the result of Baathists or organized terrorist groups but ordinary citizens who are angry about what they see as an American occupation. Iraqis say the attacks are due to a rage born of the lack of electricity and water, along with coalition soldiers searching Iraqi homes and occasionally shooting innocent civilians.

Of course, the fact that ordinary civilians are enraged doesn't mean there isn't also a resistance with an agenda fanning discontent.

OWN PROBLEMS

There's plenty of evidence that the behavior of U.S. troops is creating its own problems:

* No town has gotten more attention for ambushes of American troops than Fallujah, about an hour west of Baghdad. The attacks came after an April demonstration in which more than a dozen Iraqis were killed by U.S. soldiers.

"People are still very upset. The shootings are revenge," said **Taha Alwani**, the town's mayor, who was installed with the blessings of U.S. troops.

* In Majar al Kabir, where six British soldiers were killed and eight wounded, public resentment about a round of home searches turned into a mob throwing rocks at troops. When the situation got out of hand, witnesses said, the British opened fire and the crowd responded in kind.

* In Balad, where two American soldiers disappeared with their Humvee, and then turned up dead, locals harbor resentment over what they say was an overreaction to a rocket-propelled-grenade attack June 13 on a U.S. tank convoy. In the aftermath of the attack, U.S. soldiers killed seven people.

GRAPHIC: photo: Zuhair Ali holds his daughter after her husband Kahtan Hashim was fatally shot (a);
MIKHAIL METZEL, AP FAMILY LOSS: Zuhair Ali holds his daughter after her husband, Kahtan Hashim, was fatally shot at a checkpoint in Al-Garma.

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Orlando Sentinel (Florida)June 22, 2003 Sunday, FINAL**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A1**LENGTH:** 923 words**HEADLINE:** IRAQI GUERRILLAS ORGANIZE;
NETWORK OF ARMED GROUPS AIMS TO DRIVE OUT AMERICANS**BYLINE:** Daniel Williams, the Washington Post**BODY:**

FALLUJAH, Iraq — Groups of armed fighters from the Baath Party and security agencies of ousted President Saddam Hussein have organized a loose network called the Return to harass U.S. occupation forces, with the goal of driving them out of Iraq, and the group is partially responsible for the string of fatal attacks on American soldiers in recent weeks, according to U.S. and Iraqi officials.

The intensified resistance has been reinforced by the participation of foreign fighters coming into Iraq, L. Paul Bremer, the civilian administrator of Iraq, told reporters at a conference in Jordan on Saturday. "We do see signs of outside involvement in a number of ways," he said. Bremer said that "we so far don't see signs of command and control in these attacks," adding that it appears to be small groups of five to 10 people.

According to the officials, the Return, or Awdah in Arabic, has been assembled by Iraqis who possessed funds, weapons, transportation, listening devices and informants at the end of the war; the Iraqis retained the equipment provided to them by Saddam's government. Although the hierarchical structure of Saddam's security and political agencies has been broken, the relationships among secret police, intelligence officials and Baathists endure, the Iraqi and U.S. officials said.

The mounting U.S. casualty toll and the sophistication of recent ambushes have deepened fears among U.S. officials that the military is facing a guerrilla war.

President Bush, speaking at length for the first time about the continuing casualties among American troops in Iraq, said Saturday that remnants of the ousted government are trying to "kill and intimidate" American soldiers there.

"The men and women of our military face a continuing risk of danger and sacrifice in Iraq," Bush said in his weekly radio address. But, he added, "our military is acting decisively against these threats."

Bush raised the topic 10 weeks after Baghdad fell and seven weeks after he declared May 1, aboard the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln, that the active phase of the fighting was largely over. He avoided the lingering question of whether Saddam is alive or coordinating the attacks.

The center of the resistance is a crescent of central Iraq dominated by Sunni Muslims, a minority who were the key base of support for Saddam's government and his repressive security apparatus.

In Fallujah, a Sunni town and a caldron of anti-American hostility, Awdah members are under the surveillance of U.S. forces and Iraqi informers, officials here said. Intermediaries from Awdah and pro-Saddam families in the area have succeeded in making contact with other anti-American forces in the region, they said.

"The Return is one of the facets of resistance. It is mainly former security forces. They come in and shoot an RPG [rocket-propelled grenade] and race out of town before we can get a shot off," said Capt. John Ives, from the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Infantry Division. "It's harder for us to identify them. People in Fallujah don't know who they are."

"The Return is operating here," said Taha Bedaiwi Alwani, the U.S.-supported mayor of Fallujah. "They are people who had power under the old regime. They have the weapons to cause trouble. They dream of coming back."

IRAQI GUERRILLAS ORGANIZE; NETWORK OF ARMED GROUPS AIMS TO DRIVE OUT AME

Maj. Gen. Ray Odierno, commander of 4th Infantry Division, recently identified the Return as one of the groups organizing attacks against U.S. troops. The others were the Snake Party and the New Return. But he called the assaults on U.S. troops "militarily insignificant."

Although the name Return implies the restoration of Saddam's rule, some Iraqis and U.S. officials speculate that organizers of the group are interested in bringing back the autocratic system without the former leader. Some of the group's funding comes from wealthy families in the Sunni-dominated area. One former Iraqi general, who asked that his name not be used, said that sponsors are paying the equivalent of \$1,000 for new recruits and \$3,000 to members who bring in other candidates. "They only want trained people," the former general said. "They don't love Saddam. The idea is to kick out the Americans and get back in charge."

"We detect a trend in trying to make less attacks but do them more effectively to make a bigger impact," a U.S. military-intelligence specialist said. "It's very secretive. They move from town to town. Still, their skill is not so great. But they try hard."

U.S. officers and Iraqi officials say that Muslim organizations, arms smugglers and common criminals, and Iraqis seeking revenge for the deaths of kin at the hands of Americans are also involved in attacks against U.S. forces.

In Fallujah, Iraqi officials say that Wahabbis, members of the same sect that produced Osama bin Laden, have been trying to organize operations against the U.S. forces. Members of the underground Muslim Brotherhood, possibly backed by Islamic radicals in Jordan, also have appeared in Fallujah.

U.S. officials pinpointed one mosque in Fallujah as a source of anti-American rhetoric and gunfire. The Muadithi Mosque was the scene of a shootout in which U.S. soldiers said they were fired on, killing a bystander on the street who was fixing his car. Hamed Faleh Khalaf, an assistant to the mosque's imam, on Saturday denied that anyone had fired from the premises. He did, however, unload invective on the Americans. "The U.S. Army did not come to free Iraq, but to invade Iraq and take oil and everything valuable," he said.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Vigilant. A U.S. soldier stands guard Saturday at a checkpoint in Baghdad, Iraq. "The men and women of our military face a continuing risk of danger and sacrifice in Iraq," President Bush said Saturday.

MIKHAIL METZEL/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

PHOTO: On patrol. U.S. Army Pvt. Victor Bazinski, from the 3rd Battalion of the 7th Infantry Regiment, code-named Attack Company, patrols Saturday in Abu Faisal in the Sunni-dominated area west of Baghdad.

JOHN MOORE/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

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Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington PostJune 22, 2003 Sunday
Final Edition**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A01**LENGTH:** 1061 words**HEADLINE:** Attacks In Iraq Traced to Network;
Resistance to U.S. Is Loosely Organized**BYLINE:** Daniel Williams, Washington Post Foreign Service**DATELINE:** FALLUJAH, Iraq June 21**BODY:**

Groups of armed fighters from the Baath Party and security agencies of ousted president Saddam Hussein have organized a loose network called the Return with the aim of driving U.S. forces out of the country, according to U.S. and Iraqi officials. The officials said the group is partially responsible for the string of fatal attacks on American soldiers in recent weeks.

The intensified resistance has been reinforced by the participation of foreign fighters coming into Iraq, L. Paul Bremer, the civilian administrator of Iraq, told reporters at a conference in Jordan today. "We do see signs of outside involvement in a number of ways," he said. Bremer said that "we so far don't see signs of command and control in these attacks," adding that it appears largely to be small groups of five to 10 people.

According to the officials, the Return, or Awdah in Arabic, has been assembled by Iraqis who possessed funds, weapons, transportation, listening devices and informants at the end of the war. The Iraqis retained the equipment provided to them by Hussein's government. Although the hierarchical structure of Hussein's security and political agencies has been broken, the relationships among secret police, intelligence officials and Baathists endure, the Iraqi and U.S. officials said.

The mounting U.S. casualty toll and the sophistication of recent ambushes have deepened fears among U.S. officials that the military is facing a guerrilla war. The center of the resistance is a crescent of central Iraq dominated by Sunni Muslims, a minority who were the key base of support for Hussein's government and his repressive security apparatus.

In this Sunni town, a caldron of anti-American hostility, Awdah members are under the surveillance of U.S. forces and Iraqi informers, officials here said. Intermediaries from Awdah and pro-Hussein families in the area have succeeded in making contact with other anti-American forces in the region, they added.

"The Return is one of the facets of resistance. It is mainly former security forces. They come in and shoot an RPG [rocket-propelled grenade] and race out of town before we can get a shot off," said Capt. John Ives, from the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Infantry Division. "It's harder for us to identify them. People in Fallujah don't know who they are."

"The Return is operating here," said Taha Bedaiwi Alwani, the U.S.-supported mayor of Fallujah. "They are people who had power under the old regime. They have the weapons to cause trouble. They dream of coming back."

Maj. Gen. Ray Odierno, commander of 4th Infantry Division, recently identified the Return as one of the groups organizing attacks against U.S. troops. The others were the Snake Party and the New Return. But he called the assaults on U.S. troops "militarily insignificant."

Although the name Return implies the restoration of Hussein's rule, some Iraqis and U.S. officials speculate that organizers of the group are interested in bringing back the autocratic system without the former leader. Some of the group's funding comes from wealthy families in the Sunni belt. One former Iraqi general, who asked that his name not be

Attacks In Iraq Traced to Network; Resistance to U.S. Is Loosely Organiz

used, said that sponsors were paying the equivalent of \$1,000 for new recruits and \$3,000 to members who bring in other candidates. "They only want trained people," the former general said. "They don't love Saddam. The idea is to kick out the Americans and get back in charge."

"We detect a trend in trying to make less attacks but do them more effectively to make a bigger impact," said a U.S. military intelligence specialist. "It's very secretive. They move from town to town. Still, their skill is not so great. But they try hard."

As an example, the soldier pointed to an attack Thursday night on U.S. soldiers guarding a pair of electrical transformers in Fallujah. The rocket-propelled grenade missed the Bradley Fighting Vehicle out front but destroyed one of the transformers.

Routing "Baathist remnants," the name U.S. officials generically apply to the armed opposition, is a key goal of the ongoing Operation Desert Scorpion. For a week, thousands of troops have raided Baghdad, Tikrit, Fallujah, Ramadi, Baqubah, Thuluya and other towns in central Iraq on the hunt for arms, intelligence and money. Today, troops from the 1st Armored Division raided a community center in Baghdad and found documents labeled "top secret" and "personal." The Associated Press reported that the soldiers found documents related to Iraq's nuclear program. An officer on the scene was quoted as saying the find was "potentially significant."

U.S. troops also raided the Baghdad offices of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution and hauled away three Iraqis, documents and computers. The council is an Iran-based Shiite Muslim group that was part of a sextet of opposition organizations that had been endorsed by the Bush administration. But U.S. officials and the group have fallen out over its persistent criticism of the U.S. occupation.

Bremer has also warned Iran against fomenting "paramilitary" activities in the Shiite Muslim south.

The raid preceded a small Shiite demonstration in Baghdad in which a few hundred protesters chanted, "We want to form a national government."

U.S. officers and Iraqi officials say that Muslim organizations, arms smugglers and other common criminals, and Iraqis seeking revenge for the deaths of kin at the hands of Americans are also involved in attacks against U.S. forces.

In Fallujah, Iraqi officials say that Wahhabis, members of the same sect that produced Osama bin Laden, have been trying to organize operations against the U.S. forces. Members of the underground Muslim Brotherhood, possibly backed by Islamic radicals in Jordan, have also appeared in Fallujah.

U.S. officials pinpointed one mosque in Fallujah as a source of anti-American rhetoric and gunfire. The Muadithi Mosque was the scene of a shootout in which U.S. soldiers said they were fired on, killing a bystander on the street who was fixing his car nearby. Hamed Faleh Khalaf, an assistant to the mosque's imam, denied today that anyone had fired from the premises. He did, however, unload invective on the Americans. "The U.S. Army did not come to free Iraq, but to invade Iraq and take oil and everything valuable," he said.

Staff reporter Glenn Kessler in Jordan contributed to this report.

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Copyright 2003 Agence France Presse
Agence France Presse — EnglishJune 20, 2003 Friday**SECTION:** International News**LENGTH:** 666 words**HEADLINE:** US pursues crackdown after attacks in flashpoint Iraqi town**BYLINE:** NAYLA RAZZOUK**DATELINE:** BAGHDAD, June 20**BODY:**

US troops pursued Friday their crackdown on "non-compliant forces" in Iraq, after renewed attacks in the flashpoint town of Fallujah, as part of efforts to crush resistance in the country.

US forces staged nine raids during which five people were detained in Baghdad as part of a drive to "isolate and defeat non-compliant forces throughout Iraq," a military statement said.

The troops also seized nine rifles, five pistols, one 125mm artillery round, and three automatic rifles during the search operations. One box of grenades was turned in by an Iraqi citizen.

The statement said the raids were part of Operation Desert Scorpion, which started last Sunday aimed at providing a "secure environment" for Iraqis to form a new self-rule government.

In an opinion piece published Friday in the Wall Street Journal, the chief US civilian administrator in Iraq, Paul Bremer, admitted that the "immediate situation is daunting," although he noted that "it could have been much worse."

He called the "political liberation" of Iraq "one of the remarkable events in the history of human freedom," but said that "for a free Iraq to thrive, its economy must be transformed."

Leading Sunni Muslim cleric Sheikh Mahmud Khalaf charged during Friday prayers that the "honeyed promises" made by the US-led coalition which ousted Iraqi president Saddam Hussein in April had "gone with the wind."

"The economic situation is deteriorating, the citizens' conditions are steadily getting worse, our country's resources have been devastated and our will has been usurped," he said.

"Unemployment is growing, vice is spreading, crimes are being committed in every corner, honor is being violated, and blood is being shed."

Earlier Friday, a US officer in Fallujah confirmed to AFP that attackers fired rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) at the town's government building and a nearby power plant overnight, but denied reports of US casualties.

Witnesses had said several US soldiers were wounded in the attack.

"Two RPGs were fired at the government office but they didn't hit anything. They missed their target. There were no casualties," said Sergeant First Class Kenneth Molina, adding that US troops returned fire at the attackers.

"The rockets were fired from about 400 metres (yards) behind the government building where US troops were positioned," he added.

An AFP reporter at the scene saw a burned-out Iraqi civilian truck on the corner of a street behind the compound and two RPG detonator caps on the ground.

A power station near the government building was also hit at around the same time by a third rocket, Molina said,

US pursues crackdown after attacks in flashpoint Iraqi town Agence Franc

adding that US forces then carried out a search of the area, but found no bodies and made no arrests.

US forces detonated unspecified ammunition after the attack to stop rounds being stolen or used against them, before pulling out of the area around the plant. The detonation was confirmed by workers at the power station.

Fallujah, 50 kilometers (30 miles) west of Baghdad, has often been a flashpoint since US troops shot dead at least 16 civilians during protests in late April.

Taha Badawi al-**Alwani**, head of the local council, told AFP "the attacks are being carried out by a variety of people, including thieves, people rejecting the US military presence and probably Saddam loyalists."

"But we are trying to build a police force which is today very, very minimal. Citizens are refusing to hand in their arms. The US soldiers are trying to help with patrols and searches for arms," he said.

The overnight attack followed another RPG strike just south of Baghdad on Thursday, in which the US military said one army medic was killed and two others were injured.

Tensions have flared in Baghdad over the slow return of basic services, with former Iraqi soldiers warning they are ready to take up arms after a deadline on Monday if they are not paid wages owed to them since the army was disbanded last month, or given back their jobs.

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Copyright 2003 Agence France Presse
Agence France Presse — EnglishJune 20, 2003 Friday**SECTION:** International News**LENGTH:** 653 words**HEADLINE:** Resistance to US forces in Iraqi "City of Mosques" splits residents**BYLINE:** NAYLA RAZZOUK**DATELINE:** FALLUJAH, Iraq, June 20**BODY:**

Residents of the restive town of Fallujah, known as the "City of Mosques," are divided over attacks against US troops, but seem to be unanimous in praying for the foreign military presence to end.

Outside one of the sleepy town's two power stations, a group of angry men in traditional jellaba white gowns hold the iron bars of the gate, shouting at workers inside standing in front of a completely burnt transformer.

The transformer was the victim of an overnight attack by unidentified assailants who fired rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) against US troops deployed at the power station to protect the premises.

"We cannot supply you with electricity because one of our two transformers has been burnt by the RPG and we are trying to see if the other one is still working, please be patient," said Sudud Tareq Khalil, an employee at the station.

But the crowd outside was not convinced.

"That's not true, the American soldiers themselves fired at the transformer. Every time they come under fire, they start shooting randomly. It is becoming very dangerous," shouted Abu Omar, a bespectacled elderly man.

"In any case, they had no reason to be at the power station," interrupted his friend Abdullah Kubaissi, adding: "God bless the resistance."

The scene was typical of the atmosphere in Fallujah, 50 kilometers (30 miles) west of Baghdad, which has often been a flashpoint since US troops shot dead at least 16 civilians during protests in late April.

Graffiti on one of the walls along the main road of the city reads: "God bless the resistance fighters of the City of Mosques."

"There was no resistance here, but the Americans have provoked us. They come here, drive among our houses, walk the streets among our women, and then they shoot randomly. Nobody can accept this situation," said Kubaissi.

"They should get out of town, immediately. They should stay away from civilian areas," he said.

But with no real Iraqi police, army or security forces since the US-led military coalition ousted the Saddam Hussein regime on April 9, some residents in the heavily-armed town of 600,000 people would rather have the coalition troops remain.

Taha Badawi al-Alwani, head of Fallujah's local council, told AFP: "The attacks are being carried out by a variety of people, including thieves, people rejecting the US military presence and probably Saddam loyalists."

"People think that there is a resistance in Fallujah because it is mainly Sunni Muslim," like Saddam and most of his top political and military aides, as well as top members of the once ruling Baath Party.

"That's not true. There was not a single high-ranking person from Fallujah under the Saddam regime. But there may

Resistance to US forces in Iraqi "City of Mosques" splits resi

be resistance because it is a very conservative town known as the City of Mosques as it has a very high ratio of mosques relative to its size," he said.

Alwani, once the head of a local chamber of commerce before fleeing the Saddam regime in 2001 to settle in the United Arab Emirates, was sitting behind a desk in a large office in near-obscurity because of a power cut.

"I held a meeting with the heads of the local tribes and religious leaders, and we all agreed that there is no logic in any resistance at this point. We are not self-sufficient yet, especially in terms of security," he said.

"We are trying to build a police force which is today very, very minimal. Citizens are refusing to hand in their arms. The US soldiers are trying to help with patrols and searches for arms," he said.

Yunis Saleh, a 24-year-old university student, said "arms and land are the most important things for us. We can never give them up, especially not to Americans."

"Their presence will only be tolerated until we get our own proper government that will have its own security forces. If we ever give up our arms, it can only be to Iraqi forces," he added.

nay/jah/lg/hc

Iraq-US-Fallujah-scene

LOAD-DATE: June 21, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Agence France Presse
Agence France Presse — EnglishJune 20, 2003 Friday**SECTION:** International News**LENGTH:** 682 words**HEADLINE:** US troops come under renewed fire in flashpoint Iraqi town**BYLINE:** NAYLA RAZZOUK**DATELINE:** FALLUJAH, Iraq, June 20**BODY:**

US troops patrolling in Iraq have come under renewed attack, this time in the flashpoint town of Fallujah overnight, in the latest challenge to their efforts to crush remaining resistance in the country.

A US army officer in the town confirmed Friday that attackers fired rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) at Fallujah's government building and a nearby power plant overnight, but denied reports of US casualties.

Witnesses had said several US soldiers were wounded in the attack.

"Two RPGs were fired at the government office but they didn't hit anything. They missed their target. There were no casualties," Sergeant First Class Kenneth Molina told AFP, adding that US troops returned fire at the attackers.

"The rockets were fired from about 400 metres (yards) behind the government building where US troops were positioned," he added.

An AFP reporter at the scene saw a burned-out Iraqi civilian truck on the corner of a street behind the compound and two RPG detonator caps on the ground.

A power station near the government building was also hit at around the same time by a third rocket, Molina said, adding that US forces then carried out a search of the area, but found no bodies and made no arrests.

By early Friday, US troops had left the area around the power station — one of the two main plants supplying the town — where one transformer was working, partially restoring power after a night without electricity.

US forces detonated unspecified ammunition after the attack before pulling out of the area around the plant, to stop rounds being stolen or used against them. This was confirmed by workers at the power station.

The streets in Fallujah were calm Friday, with traffic flowing as usual, and US troops only in evidence around the government building.

The town, 50 kilometers (30 miles) west of Baghdad, has often been a flashpoint since US troops shot dead at least 16 civilians during protests in late April.

Taha Badawi al-Alwani, head of the local council, told AFP "the attacks are being carried out by a variety of people, including thieves, people rejecting the US military presence and probably Saddam loyalists."

"But we are trying to build a police force which is today very, very minimal. Citizens are refusing to hand in their arms. The US soldiers are trying to help with patrols and searches for arms," he said.

The overnight attack followed another RPG strike just south of Baghdad on Thursday, in which the US military said one army medic was killed and two others were injured.

Tensions have flared in the capital over the slow return of basic services, with former Iraqi army soldiers warning they

US troops come under renewed fire in flashpoint Iraqi town Agence France

are ready to take up arms against the city's US occupiers if a dispute with the US administration is not settled by Monday.

The former soldiers are demanding the top US civil administrator, Paul Bremer, either pays up wages owed to them since the army was disbanded last month, or gives them their jobs back.

A demonstration by the ex-soldiers degenerated into violent clashes on Wednesday when US soldiers shot dead two protesters.

Sixteen US soldiers have been killed in targeted attacks since President George W. Bush declared the war in Iraq effectively over on May 1, according to an AFP count from US military statements.

Three of those were killed this week: one by a sniper, another in a drive-by shooting in Baghdad, the third in Thursday's rocket attack.

Major General Ray Odierno, commander of the US Army's 4th Infantry Division, said Wednesday that attacks on his forces were a reaction to pressure applied by US raids and did not signal growing popular opposition.

The army's ongoing and extensive Desert Scorpion operation to pull in diehard Saddam Hussein loyalists and paramilitary fighters as well as members of the former ruling Baath Party has so far yielded hundreds of arrests.

A US army spokeswoman said Thursday that nearly 300 people were still in detention following broad sweeps, especially north of Baghdad, with the US military intent on wiping out all remaining resistance.

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Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington PostJune 6, 2003 Friday
Final Edition**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A01**LENGTH:** 1047 words**HEADLINE:** U.S. Soldier Killed in Iraqi Attack;
5 Others Hurt in Fallujah Despite Military Buildup**BYLINE:** Daniel Williams, Washington Post Foreign Service**DATELINE:** FALLUJAH, Iraq June 5**BODY:**

Attackers using a rocket-propelled grenade killed an American soldier and wounded five others in a guerrilla-style assault less than a day after U.S. commanders greatly increased the number of troops trying to pacify this volatile city west of Baghdad.

In Baghdad, meanwhile, two gunmen wounded a U.S. soldier guarding a bank in the Adhamiya district.

The attacks brought to eight the number of U.S. troops killed in Iraq during the past eight days and brought home the dilemma facing occupation forces as their efforts to provide security in towns and cities make them more visible and more vulnerable to attack.

The risk is especially high in a place such as Fallujah, where many people are openly hostile to the U.S. occupation. Moving about in convoys in heavy traffic and setting up outposts at busy intersections, the troops make ready targets as they sit atop tanks and armored vehicles.

On Wednesday night, a group of U.S. soldiers decided to bivouac in and around the burned-out shell of the Fallujah police station. At about 1:30 this morning, someone fired automatic weapons behind the station in what residents in nearby homes suggested was a diversion.

Attackers then fired a rocket-propelled grenade at a Bradley Fighting Vehicle parked in front of the station, military officials said. The blast, which ripped open a wall, killed one soldier and wounded five others.

Troops evacuated the wounded and cleaned up the debris, officials said. Some surrounded the station, while still others ran down streets to carry out house-to-house searches. They detained at least one person.

Lt. Gen. David D. McKiernan, the commander of occupation forces, has identified Fallujah and a handful of other towns west and northwest of Baghdad as trouble spots where what he described as "remnants" of the Baath Party loyal to deposed president Saddam Hussein have targeted Americans. On Wednesday, 1,500 soldiers from the 3rd Infantry Division moved here from Baghdad to reinforce 300 troops with the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment.

Inhabitants of Fallujah contend that U.S. troops provoked their continuing anger in April when they killed 17 people during two protest demonstrations. They also denounce the Americans for invading the privacy of the town's conservative inhabitants, particularly with heavy-handed weapons searches.

"Many people just don't want them in the city," said Mayor Taha Bedaiwi Alwani, a dissident during Hussein's rule who is cooperating with U.S. authorities.

Alwani said he has begun to think the assaults on U.S. targets are coordinated. "There is some kind of organization at work," he said. "I just don't know who or what it is."

U.S. Soldier Killed in Iraqi Attack; 5 Others Hurt in Fallujah Despite M

When the bulk of U.S. forces in Fallujah left the town after today's attack and headed for camps among palm trees and desert to the west, a crowd gathered at the police station to celebrate. A young man raised a red, white and black Iraqi flag on a wall above a pool of blood.

"This is just the beginning. We want this to happen all over Iraq," said Adel Ahmed. "We are not like the Palestinians. We won't submit easily.

"You should have heard the soldiers," he continued with a smile. "They moaned until dawn."

Passions were further aroused by the arrival of a man holding a photograph, which showed the smashed head of a young man who everyone said was run over by a Bradley Fighting Vehicle on Wednesday.

Alwani, the mayor, said that Americans evidently took the victim, Ahmed Mutlib, for an attacker as he rushed toward them on a motorcycle. A Bradley pulled out of an intersection and intercepted him, Hamid said. U.S. officials today said they had no information on the alleged incident.

Some bystanders at the police station said Mutlib's death ignited passions that flared into this morning's grenade attack. "Here, for every Iraqi killed, people absolutely must kill one American," said one man.

Soldiers raided several Fallujah neighborhoods this morning. They ran along dusty roads while Iraqis sat languidly next to walls, trying to shield themselves from the stifling summer heat. A mobile loudspeaker warned in Arabic: "Keep off the streets or you will be killed or wounded. The coalition forces do not want to hurt you. For your own safety, leave the area immediately."

The raiders entered the duplex home of Mohammed Obeid at about 6 a.m., looking for weapons. An armored vehicle battered down a date palm and a garden wall. Someone kicked in a door and shot off a lock on a cabinet in a second-floor storeroom. Obeid said that they found nothing, and succeeded only in spilling rice everywhere while searching through bags of grain.

"They certainly weren't very polite," Obeid said. "They could have just knocked." He and his sons were briefly bound with plastic handcuffs during the raid.

Obeid speculated that the soldiers had mistaken his house for an adjoining home, which they raided moments later. There, Nuriya Mahmoud Ferhan told a reporter that the soldiers bound and took away her husband, Hamiz Aboud.

She attributed the arrest to information provided by enemies in a family squabble. She pointed to bullet holes in the wall and door of the house. Cousins shot up the garden on Tuesday, she said; Aboud owes them money and they said pay or leave town, according to Ferhan.

"Then, the next day, the Americans come and say my husband is a Baathist. It's not true. The Americans better be careful who they listen to. The informers — they are the Baathists. They belong to Saddam! The Americans should go after them!" she said.

In Baghdad, witnesses described an apparently planned attack that left one U.S. soldier wounded.

One man approached the soldier as he stood guard at a bank, began to converse and then shot him at close range in the neck with a pistol, a security guard at a furniture store said.

A second soldier shot and badly wounded the assailant, but a second gunman fired from across the street, then fled in a red sedan.

U.S. forces and Iraqi police cordoned off the neighborhood, and an MH-60 Black Hawk helicopter circled overhead as soldiers searched for the car. "It's a shame. The Americans are our friends," said Alwan, the furniture store security guard.

But the store's owner, Ghassan Adnan, a former army captain, said, "People are angry at the Americans."

LOAD-DATE: June 6, 2003

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United Press International

June 5, 2003 Thursday

LENGTH: 858 words

HEADLINE: Washington Agenda-General

BYLINE: By United Press International

BODY:

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

For content questions, call 202-898-8291

To fax additions or changes, 202-898-8064

For the UPI News Desk call, 202-898-8111 or 8015

EVENTS ON THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 2003

TIME: All Day

EVENT: AMERICAN MUSLIM COUNCIL will hold its 3rd special session of Imam/Leadership Conference

AGENDA: Highlight:

6:00 p.m. ? Reception Welcoming Remarks

Yahya Basha, AMC President

7 p.m. - Scholars Perspective On Political Participation

Bashir G. Ahmed

Taha Jabir al-Alwani, President, GraduateSchool of Islamic and Social Sciences

Muhammad Al-Hanooti, Member, Fiqh Council of North America

Salah Soltan, President, American Islamic University, Michigan

Mahmoud Ayoub, Temple Uni.

8:30 p.m. - Maghrib Prayer

9 p.m. - Workshop Great Hall

Presentation of 'Islam in Brief'

Presenter: Fadel Soliman, National Chaplain of WAMY in North America

10:03 p.m. - ISHA' PRAYER Lakeside I

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: 5000 Seminary Road, Alexandria, VA

CONTACT: 202-543-0075

TIME: All Day

EVENT: NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH ASSOCIATION conference themed America's Mental Health Crisis: Finding Solutions Together. Mental health leaders from across the country to share and discover innovative ways to

Washington Agenda-General United Press International June 5, 2003 Thursd

improve access to care, fight stigma and develop mental health programs that can make a difference ? all during this time state budget crises.

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: Hyatt Regency Washington – Capitol Hill, 400 New Jersey Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

CONTACT: Chris Condayan, 703-838-7551

WEB ADDRESS: nmha.org

TIME: 9 a.m.

EVENT: NATIONAL PRESS CLUB INVESTIGATIVE REPORTERS AND EDITORS, INC. annual conference.

AGENDA: Highlights:

Brown Bag Lunch with Media Lawyers

David Smallman, Steinhart | Falconer LLC

Charles D. Tobin, Holland & Knight LLP

5:30 p.m. – Showcase Panel

Covering the war: From national security to Iraq

reporting on national security issues and the Iraq war have presented tough challenges in dealing with a secrecy-laden administration. Top investigative reporters with decades of experience and perspective will talk about different approaches to getting at the truth.

Moderator: Judy Woodruff, CNN

Seymour Hersh, The New Yorker

Bob Woodward, The Washington Post

David Martin, CBS News

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: National Press Club, 14th and F Streets NW, Washington, DC

CONTACT: 202-662-7500

WEB ADDRESS: npc.press.org

TIME: 9:15 a.m.

EVENT: AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE FIRST FRIDAYS SEMINAR SERIES IN ECONOMIC POLICY entitled "Taxes and Asset Prices."

WHO: The speakers are:

Eric M. Engen, AEI

Clemens Sialm, University of Michigan Business School

Randall Mariger, U.S. Treasury

Steve Sharpe, Federal Reserve Board of Governors

Eric M. Engen, AEI

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: 1150 17th Street NW, Washington, DC

CONTACT: 202-862-5933

Washington Agenda-General United Press International June 5, 2003 Thursd

WEB ADDRESS: aei.org

TIME: 12 noon

EVENT: CATO INSTITUTE holds a hill briefing on Entitlement Spending Explosion: Implications for the Federal Budget, Taxpayers, and Young Americans.

WHO: The speakers are:

Douglas Holtz-Eakin, Director, Congressional Budget Office

Jagadeesh Gokhale, Visiting Scholar, American Enterprise Institute

Chris Edwards, Director, Fiscal Policy Studies, Cato Institute

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: B-338 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

CONTACT: 202-789-5229

WEB ADDRESS: cato.org

TIME: 12 noon

EVENT: AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE holds an informal Friday forum on "Bringing Back ROTC To College Campuses." featuring AEI Resident Scholar Christina Hoff Sommers.

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: 1150 17th Street NW, Washington, DC

CONTACT: 202-862-5933

WEB ADDRESS: aei.org

TIME: 12:15 p.m.

EVENT: NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION holds a program on Bush's Bounce? What The World Thinks About Post-Saddam American Foreign Policy.

WHO: The speakers are:

Bruce Stokes, Economics Columnist, National Journal and Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Mary McIntosh, Vice President, Princeton Survey Research

Steven Clemons, Executive Vice President, New America Foundation

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: 1630 Connecticut Ave., NW, 7th Floor, Washington, DC

CONTACT: Jud Mathews, 202-986-4901

WEB ADDRESS: newamerica.net

TIME: 6 p.m.

EVENT: KENNEDY CENTER MILLENIUM STAGE presents The Frankie Condon Orchestra, a seventeen-piece ensemble, playing its own arrangements of the best big band, swing and dance music.

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: 2700 F Street NW, Washington, D.C.

CONTACT: 202-416-8000

WEB ADDRESS: kennedy-center.org

Washington Agenda-General United Press International June 5, 2003 Thursd

TIME: 7 p.m.

EVENT: POLITICS & PROSE BOOKSTORE presents Sidney Blumenthal discussing and signing copies of The Clinton Wars. Blumenthal wrote for the Washington Post and the New Yorker, then joined the Clinton White House as Senior Adviser. He was a target of the right wing, along with his boss, and testified at the impeachment hearings. The author of several other books, including The Rise of the Counter Establishment, Blumenthal writes as both participant and observer.

DATE: June 6, 2003

LOCATION: 5015 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, D.C.

CONTACT: 202-364-1919

WEB ADDRESS: politics-prose.com

LOAD-DATE: June 6, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Chicago Tribune Company
Chicago TribuneMay 28, 2003 Wednesday
CHICAGO FINAL EDITION**SECTION:** NEWS; ZONE: C; Pg. 3**LENGTH:** 892 words**HEADLINE:** Firefight kills 2 soldiers;
11 others injured in worst violence since war's end**BYLINE:** By E.A. Torriero and Mike Dorning, Tribune staff reporters**DATELINE:** FALLUJAH, Iraq**BODY:**

Two U.S. soldiers were killed and 11 injured in a firefight and an attack on a police station Tuesday, the bloodiest day for the American military in Iraq since the Bush administration declared major combat over.

U.S. military police were interrogating at least six Iraqis in connection with separate incidents at a military checkpoint in Fallujah and at an Iraqi precinct in north Baghdad in which Americans were assaulted with rocket-propelled grenades and gunfire.

Shortly after midnight, American soldiers inspecting a car were attacked as two Iraqis stepped from a second vehicle at a checkpoint in Fallujah, a stronghold of loyalists to Saddam Hussein and a flash point of resistance to U.S. forces since the end of major combat.

Bradley Fighting Vehicles returned fire, killing two of the assailants, and six others were captured, according to a U.S. military statement. A helicopter sent to evacuate casualties was damaged when struck by a Bradley during the fight.

Later, during the afternoon, two American military police were wounded in a grenade attack while guarding a Baghdad police post.

There was no claim of responsibility for either attack, but American authorities believe the assailants are remnants of insurgent forces and Baath Party members loyal to Hussein.

"It's very small groups, one or two people, in isolated attacks against our soldiers," said Maj. Gen. Buford Blount III, the U.S. general in charge of troops in Baghdad.

Blount said security is getting better day by day in Iraq. Despite the spate of attacks, American soldiers on patrol in Baghdad on Tuesday appeared to mingle easily with Iraqis.

Anger over slow progress

But in the past two days, four American soldiers have died in ambushes in Iraq. On Memorial Day, two American convoys were attacked.

The spate of anti-U.S. violence comes amid increasingly bitter recriminations from Iraqis over the slow progress during the U.S. occupation in restoring order, repairing services and paying salaries.

Iraqis also are angry over how slowly the American-led administration is forming a new government. Decisive American moves to purge the civil service of Baath Party officials and abolish the Iraqi military have angered many, threatening the livelihoods of well-armed and well-financed Hussein supporters.

The administration also announced that Iraqis must begin turning in heavy weapons on June 1. The U.S. military has

Firefight kills 2 soldiers; 11 others injured in worst violence since wa

conducted raids on militias hiding in houses in several cities.

While jarring to Hussein's old cronies, the moves and the swiftness of them have led some Iraqis to express fear the Americans will replace Hussein with their own stern rule for an indefinite period. Anti-American graffiti are popping up on walls around Baghdad.

"We welcomed the U.S. as a liberator, but we do not want them as an occupier," said Abdul-Hussein Shanyen, who works at a state-run parts factory.

"Now the U.S. is taking over everything in our lives," he said, waiting with co-workers Tuesday for promised salaries that were delayed. "If they continue like this, there will be many more attacks on American soldiers."

Frustrated by slow-moving political developments, a leading exile organization announced Tuesday that it was proceeding with plans to form an Iraqi-led government without U.S. help.

"The Americans are not leading the process," said Entifadh Qanbar, a spokesman for the Iraqi National Congress, the largest and most influential exile group. "It is being led by Iraqis for Iraqis."

U.S. administrator Paul Bremer said last week that a planned summit of Iraqi politicians would be delayed a month until mid-July. Bremer wants more political factions in discussions about a government.

But Qanbar said that while talks will continue with Bremer, seven political groups will also move forward on their own. Previous efforts by Iraqis to undermine the American authority have been met with detentions.

"The Americans will be forced to accept what we tell them, not what they tell us," Qanbar insisted.

As new political leaders stepped forward, the U.S. continued to round up members of the old regime. The U.S. Central Command announced Tuesday that two Baath leaders, Sayf al-Din al-Mashadani and Sad Abd al-Majid al-Faysal, had been apprehended over the weekend. The arrests brought to 27 the number of the top 55 former members of Hussein's regime in custody.

Anti-American tensions have run high for weeks in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 about 30 miles west of Baghdad, where at least 24 Iraqi civilians have been killed since the war's end in battles with American soldiers.

Crowd vent in Fallujah

And many residents have much to lose under the American administration. A major arm of Hussein's army and elite guard worked and lived here. Hussein doled out perks for the city. His family was fond of a retreat house outside the city.

The city's mayor, **Taha** Bidawi **Alwani**, 52, said that a majority of Fallujah's residents remain hostile to U.S. troops.

Across the street from a group of American soldiers guarding the municipal building Tuesday, a crowd of locals vented hostility toward the troops.

Several residents also expressed lingering resentment over local casualties from an incident a few weeks ago in which American troops opened fire from a school on a mob storming their position.

"I hate them. I don't want them. I want them to leave," said Ahmed Mutliq Faris, 48.

GRAPHIC: PHOTOPHOTO: A U.S. armored vehicle guards a Baghdad police station Tuesday after two soldiers were wounded in a grenade attack. AP photo by Saurabh Das.

LOAD-DATE: May 28, 2003

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Los Angeles Times

May 28, 2003 Wednesday
Home Edition

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Part 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 1330 words

HEADLINE: THE WORLD;
More Attacks Raise Worries of Violent Resistance in Iraq

BYLINE: John Daniszewski and John Hendren, Times Staff Writers

DATELINE: FALLOUJA, Iraq

BODY:

The war was supposed to be over. But the deaths of four U.S. soldiers and the wounding of 15 others in just two days in armed attacks across Iraq raise the troubling prospect that a fresh wave of violent resistance to U.S. occupation is beginning.

A rocket-propelled grenade attack early Tuesday in this Euphrates River city had the earmarks of a planned military operation. The casualty toll — two Americans dead and nine wounded — was not dissimilar to many days of the war itself. It was followed later in the day by another rocket-propelled grenade attack in Baghdad, this one aimed at U.S. military police.

American foot soldiers also reported coming under sporadic fire while on patrol in the capital.

The attacks appeared to be independent of one another, and it was impossible to say immediately whether they might have been planned by people loyal to the former regime or whether they were separate acts of violence by angry people living in a society in which guns are everywhere. Like two other fatal assaults on U.S. forces that took place Monday, in Baghdad and Hadithah, Tuesday's violence came against the backdrop of rising anger and frustration in the country after seven weeks of U.S. control.

Many Iraqis are livid at the perceived shortcomings of the U.S. occupation, particularly what they see as a slowness to pay salaries and provide basic services, and at the recent decisions of the U.S. civil administrator, L. Paul Bremer III, to dissolve the national army and put off until at least July forming an interim Iraqi government.

The Americans came under heavy fire at a Fallouja checkpoint around midnight while conducting vehicle searches.

They responded with their Bradley fighting vehicles, armed with .50-caliber guns, and with small-arms fire, killing three Iraqis and capturing six others who apparently were violating international laws of war by firing from a mosque, defense officials said.

An Army medical evacuation helicopter was damaged by a Bradley that struck it while maneuvering into a firing position.

The names of the wounded and dead were withheld pending notification of relatives.

Late Tuesday, an attack took place in Baghdad: Two U.S. military police officers were injured, one seriously, after two rocket-propelled grenade attacks on a police station in northwest Baghdad, a U.S. military spokesman, Lt. Clint Mundinger of the Army's 709th Military Police Battalion, told Associated Press.

After Tuesday's firefight in Fallouja, some residents portrayed the clash as the beginning of a jihad, or holy war, to

THE WORLD; More Attacks Raise Worries of Violent Resistance in Iraq Los

oust the Americans.

"They are not wanted here. No one wanted them to come here," said a man who gave his name only as Abu Abba at the site where the Americans were killed.

Waving a piece of metal that he said was from the damaged helicopter, he said: "This is our pride.... Everybody says that the American military is invincible. This is the proof that it is not. We are shooting them with our own guns."

An insular, conservative Sunni Muslim city of 200,000 known as home to a smuggling trade taking sheep and other commodities across the desert into Jordan and Saudi Arabia, Fallouja has been a hotbed of anti-U.S. feeling.

Last month, U.S. troops twice opened fire on crowds who appeared intent on attacking them, killing at least 18 Iraqis and injuring 78 more.

Mayor **Taha** Badawi **Alwani**, in an interview in his office, said the city was never particularly pro-Saddam Hussein. But neither do its fiercely independent tribesmen want to see American fighting vehicles and Humvees on their streets, he said. He estimated that 80% of the city's population, frustrated with living conditions, wants the Americans to leave.

The mayor said he has been trying to calm emotions, urging tribal sheiks and religious leaders to tell their followers to cooperate with the Americans for the good of the city, and most agree. But not all, he said.

Abdul Wahid, head of the city's education department, was seething in a reception room in the city hall.

"No security. No salaries. Not any services," he said. "Our country may be the only one in the world to export petroleum and not have enough gas for our cars.... Tell your nation that Bush did nothing to keep his promises."

The anger and the recent violence has sharpened awareness among U.S. forces here of the need for constant vigilance.

At a former Iraqi airfield in Baghdad's Al Salaam district Tuesday, attackers aimed rifle or handgun fire at a unit of the newly arrived 1st Armored Division, said Lt. Chris Labra of the division's Battery C of the 4th Battalion, 27th Field Artillery.

As Labra and fewer than a dozen men made their rounds on foot, he had to pause occasionally for single shots that sounded as if they had come from a neighborhood a few hundred yards away.

"We think they're testing us," said Labra, whose unit took over duties from members of the Army's 3rd Infantry Division this week. "Everyone knows we're new on the job."

Soldiers are particularly wary of the blue and white buses with gold stars on the back, allegedly bought by Hussein's son Qusai for Fedayeen Saddam paramilitary fighters.

They are believed to be carrying the gunmen behind at least some of the attacks against the Americans.

The 1st Armored Division soldiers, whose arrival has doubled the number of soldiers patrolling the capital's streets, fret over a spot on the post they consider vulnerable to grenade attacks. Patrolling in Humvees and on foot, they alter their routes and security checkpoint routines so attackers cannot predict their movements.

"We've got to keep mixing it up," Labra said. "It seems like there hasn't been any organized resistance against us, but that's why we do these patrols."

Much of what the soldiers deal with is like what a police patrol would encounter in a tough American inner city, and poses little threat to them. The tally as of 8 p.m. Tuesday: complaints about electricity, water, joblessness, a tank hitting a resident's car — and two dead bodies. One man was found dead in a car, apparently from a gunshot wound.

A child told soldiers that he watched as a man stabbed, then shot a second victim, who lay in the street as an ambulance driver pulled up, removed his watch and wallet, and drove on, leaving the body behind.

But as troops returned to the bombed-out airstrip they call home, Adkram Khadi, a polite, mustachioed middle-aged man in a white tunic, offered a warning to the soldiers that they must resolve the problems that dog the neighborhood.

"If these problems continue, people will complain that this is an occupation, not a liberation," he said. "You know how people get in the summer when it's [120 degrees] at night. You get crazy."

Asked if he was concerned about an attack, Staff Sgt. Stephen Peacock, a 36-year-old 1991 Persian Gulf War veteran,

THE WORLD; More Attacks Raise Worries of Violent Resistance in Iraq Los

answered, "We think about that 24/7."

Labra worried about the dozen curious children who mingled with his men as they walked, saying, "If something happens, you don't want them to get hurt."

Rising discontent comes in part from soldiers uncertain of their pensions and future work now that Bremer has disbanded the Iraqi army.

The neighborhood, whose houses were built and subsidized for Iraqi soldiers before Hussein's quarter-century regime, is home to many men such as former Maj. Ammar Khader, who frets that he is feeding a family of seven on his father's pension, now \$40 a month.

"How can I feed my family?" he asked Labra, perhaps 20 years his junior. "We are a normal army. We do not belong to Saddam's regime."

Labra's refrain, repeated to satisfy complaints over power, water, safety and joblessness, is the same: "Every day it'll get better." But back at the airstrip, he gives Capt. Aaron Francis a frank debriefing.

"People will shoot, and it's like 200 meters away," Labra said. "On two occasions I said, 'Who was that?' and people said, 'I will not tell you because this is my neighbor.' "

Daniszewski reported from Fallouja and Hendren from Baghdad.

GRAPHIC: (A2) Women carrying empty tanks gather at a station where propane, used for cooking, is being distributed by U.S. troops in Sadr City, Iraq. Two Americans were killed and nine injured in armed attacks in a fresh wave of violent resistance to U.S. occupation. PHOTOGRAPHER: Carolyn Cole Los Angeles Times

TROPHY OF CONFLICT: Abu Abba, left, holds what he said was part of an American helicopter damaged in an attack that killed two U.S. soldiers and hurt nine others. "Everybody says that the American military is invincible. This is the proof that it is not," he said. PHOTOGRAPHER: Carolyn Cole Los Angeles Times

LOAD-DATE: May 28, 2003

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National Public Radio (NPR)

SHOW: All Things Considered (8:00 PM ET) - NPR

May 28, 2003 Wednesday

LENGTH: 684 words

HEADLINE: Anti-American sentiment in Fallujah, Iraq

ANCHORS: MICHELE NORRIS

REPORTERS: NICK SPICER

BODY:

MICHELE NORRIS, host:

As US forces look for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, they're also still contending with the remnants of armed resistance. Since the war ended, the Euphrates River town of Fallujah has emerged as a hotbed of anti-American sentiment. Iraqi gunmen there have repeatedly clashed with US troops. The latest firefight early yesterday left two Americans and two Iraqis dead. NPR's Nick Spicer traveled to Fallujah today and he filed this report.

Unidentified Man #1: (Foreign language spoken)

NICK SPICER reporting:

This Fallujah citizen has had enough. He is being escorted to the gate of city hall past the barbed wire and the American tank. He yells that he's come every day for a week of news of his missing brother to no avail. While the man has come to city hall, he's really angry with the United States. Taha Bedaiwi Hamid, the US-approved mayor of Fallujah, says nothing can be done without the American troops.

Mayor **TAHA** BEDAIWI **ALWANI** (Fallujah, Iraq): (Through Translator) You must not listen to the people in the streets of Fallujah who say the Americans must leave. They don't know what's good for them. We can't even protect our own buildings. We need them.

(Soundbite of tanks)

SPICER: But as US tanks roll down the main street on patrol, many citizens express their disagreement with that view. For some, the problem is religious and cultural; Fallujah is known as the city of mosques. Its residents are mostly Sunni Muslims and deeply conservative. Jesim Jami Sala(ph), a local merchant, says the men of Fallujah don't want their women being frisked by US troops.

Mr. JESIM JAMI SALA (Fallujah Resident): (Through Translator) The Americans tried to change the Muslim ways. They tried to interfere with our affairs. Anyway, America did not come here to change a government, but for oil.

(Soundbite of people speaking in foreign language)

SPICER: At a nearby intersection, Fallujah residents tick off other complaints about the US occupation. A former soldier says it was a mistake for the US civil administration to dissolve the Iraqi army. He predicts that putting some 400,000 trained military personnel out of work will swell the ranks of the angry and violent here. Another man thinks things were simply better for people here under Saddam Hussein and the single-party rule of the now illegal Ba'ath Party. For many Iraqis, the party was one of the main instruments of repression under Saddam, but teacher Hassan Midgbasali(ph) disagrees.

Mr. HASSAN MIDGBASALI (Teacher): (Through Translator) All the country was covered with Ba'ath Party

members. Everybody was free to enjoy the Ba'ath Party or to refuse membership; it was a good thing. The fact that the Americans say it can no longer exist is a form of terrorism.

SPICER: The man's words make more sense when you consider that lots of Fallujah natives ended up as high-ranking, privileged Ba'ath Party members in Baghdad. The town was favored in other ways by Saddam Hussein. He built chemical factories nearby. He also cultivated ties with the local religious leaders, and Saddam recruited large numbers of Fallujah residents into the elite Republican Guard.

Unidentified Man #2: (Foreign language spoken)

SPICER: Today, US officials summoned local tribal leaders, along with the town's mayor, to seek help in ending the repeated outbreaks of violence here. One of the local leaders suggested that the real problem is not religion or nostalgia for Saddam Hussein. Talib Husnawi(ph) said the sources of anger here are the lack of security, basic services and jobs. Husnawi said he would do his best to calm the locals, but that might not be enough.

Mr. TALIB HUSNAWI (Fallujah Leader): (Through Translator) Yes, there will be more attacks. We can't control the people. We try to say things will improve. We meet with the Americans and they make promises, saying there will be a new state here that will be a model in the Middle East. But I think right now we are the worst of the countries in the region.

SPICER: Nick Spicer, NPR News, Fallujah.

LOAD-DATE: May 29, 2003

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Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington PostMay 28, 2003 Wednesday
Final Edition**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A01**LENGTH:** 1158 words**HEADLINE:** 2 U.S. Soldiers Killed In Restive Iraqi City;
Incident Highlights Mounting Resentment**BYLINE:** Anthony Shadid, Washington Post Foreign Service**DATELINE:** FALLUJAH, Iraq May 27**BODY:**

Under the cover of darkness, Iraqis armed with automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades attacked an Army checkpoint near this restive city 35 miles west of Baghdad early today, killing two U.S. soldiers and wounding nine in a region that has become increasingly perilous for American occupation forces, U.S. officials and witnesses said.

U.S. troops killed at least two Iraqis and captured six others in the battle, which witnesses said erupted at about 1 a.m. and raged for more than half an hour near a bridge over the Euphrates River. In the fighting, U.S. officials said, an Army medical evacuation helicopter was wrecked when an M2 Bradley Fighting Vehicle collided with it. Witnesses reported that two other U.S. armored vehicles were damaged in separate incidents.

The U.S. deaths were the first suffered by Americans in this deeply conservative stronghold of the disbanded Baath Party, a place where political resentment toward the occupation has intensified over the lack of public services and reports of soldiers searching Iraqi women at checkpoints. U.S. soldiers have killed at least 21 Iraqis in Fallujah since the collapse of Saddam Hussein's government on April 9 and, if anything, frustration seems to be mounting.

"They are occupiers," said Mishaan Issawi, 50, a farmer thumbing worry beads as he stood near the scene of the fighting. "They have no morals, absolutely none. We've gone from Saddam Hussein to George Bush."

The deaths brought to four the number of U.S. soldiers killed in the past two days in an arc of territory running through the heartland of Iraq's Sunni Muslims, the country's traditional rulers.

On Monday, the U.S. military said, one soldier was killed and three were wounded when their Humvee ran over a land mine or unexploded ordnance along a road on Baghdad's outskirts. In an ambush near the town of Haditha, 110 miles northwest of the capital, assailants killed one soldier and wounded two.

U.S. military officials have stopped short of describing the spate of assaults as organized resistance, even as they face almost daily attacks by rocket-propelled grenades or automatic-weapons fire. "It is random and it isn't organized and that's a good thing," said Col. Steven Boltz, the head of intelligence for V Corps, the top Army headquarters in Iraq.

But in Fallujah, U.S. soldiers appeared more hunkered down than their counterparts in Baghdad, refraining from foot patrols and not moving too far from armored vehicles parked in front of a building that houses the postwar city council. Down the road, past buildings of concrete and mud-colored brick, graffiti were scrawled in black, "God bless the holy fighters of the city of mosques."

"It's like every day," said one soldier, who asked not to be named. "You don't know who's the good guy or the bad guy."

A U.S. military statement said the assailants attacked with rocket-propelled grenades and small arms and cited initial reports as saying the Iraqis fired from a nearby mosque. But three witnesses said the fire came from several directions and possibly from two cars — a white pickup and a blue truck — that crossed a nearby bridge. They said the checkpoint — not

2 U.S. Soldiers Killed In Restive Iraqi City; Incident Highlights Mounti

uncommon in Fallujah — was set up earlier in the evening on a stretch of road bordered by 10-foot-high reeds springing from a canal on one side and low-slung concrete homes and farms on the other.

Kamal Din, the sheik of the nearby Khalid bin Waleed Mosque, denied that anyone fired from the building, saying that a few residents climbed to the roof to watch the battle. But he praised the attack and predicted that more would follow.

"We're all with the resistance against the occupation," said the 38-year-old prayer leader. "The Americans are occupiers. Occupiers cannot come and provide people with happiness and freedom."

Fallujah, home to about 500,000 people, received relatively privileged treatment under Hussein's government. The three main tribes in the area were courted by his Baath Party, particularly as it sought to broaden its support after the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and officials long ignored lucrative livestock smuggling that provided a livelihood to many of the city's residents.

Like much of Iraq, it remains religious and bound by the traditions of conservative tribes. Many of the complaints revolve around perceived slights of customs — soldiers searching women, wearing T-shirts and urinating in the street. Some residents expressed anger at long waits at checkpoints; a well-traveled rumor has soldiers using night-vision goggles to see through women's clothes.

U.S. troops have maintained a lower profile in the city's downtown since two incidents last month left 17 people dead. On April 28, U.S. troops fired on protesters who had gathered outside a school that served as a command post, killing 15 in what they said was self-defense. Two days later, during a protest over those shootings, U.S. troops killed two people after the soldiers said they came under fire.

But the diminished presence seems only to have amplified complaints here about a lack of electricity, gasoline and butane gas for cooking. Residents said thousands of government workers have gone without salaries for two months.

"Saddam Hussein was better," said Gurgi Sirhan, a 35-year-old taxi driver, standing with Issawi at the scene of the battle.

"They're both the same. They're both vicious," Issawi shot back. "We escaped the lion and entered the mouth of the wolf."

Taha Bedaiwi **Alwani**, whom U.S. forces have recognized as the mayor, said in coming days he hoped to bring together the clergy, tribal leaders and other influential men in the city to cool tempers and encourage cooperation with the American forces. He suggested the attacks were staged by former elements of Hussein's government.

Residents of Fallujah said the bodies of the two Iraqis, both shot in the chest, were left in the street until long after daybreak. Doctors at Fallujah General Hospital said the corpses were unidentified, and Alwani suggested that meant they were hired from outside the city to carry out the attack. Others in Fallujah suggested that the resistance was homegrown, and several pointed to what they described as a rising religious current in the Sunni Muslim town.

"The clergy and the tribal leaders don't accept this behavior," said Alwani, a former head of the chamber of commerce in the nearby city of Ramadi. "The majority have agreed to cooperate with the Americans."

But in a room down the hall from Alwani's office, Abdul-Wahid Mansour, the official in Alwani's government in charge of education, railed against the Americans. More than 2,500 teachers have received no salaries, he said, and schools "are not fit for animals."

"They haven't done anything for us," the 63-year-old former high school teacher said. "No security, no salaries, no services. They have the responsibility to do everything for our country because they are governing our country now."

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May 15, 2003, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 404 words

HEADLINE: Iraqi town where U.S. troops fired on crowds still tense, but quiet

BYLINE: By NIKO PRICE, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

Two weeks after the last confrontation here with U.S. troops, some residents still want the Americans out – and the Americans say they have no plans to go.

Convoys of Humvees file slowly down the main boulevard, with gunners scanning the marketplaces. Iraqis scowl as they drive by, but do little else.

"The tension is really starting to ease up," said Staff Sgt. Steven Story, 40, of Clinton, Ark. "We still get some gestures that are not so polite, but for the most part people are happy to see us here."

Story is part of a U.S. military police contingent based in Fallujah, where protests against the Army's presence turned violent last month. U.S. soldiers fired on crowds on April 28 and April 30, killing 18 Iraqis and wounding at least 78.

The soldiers said they were defending themselves and that members of the crowd fired first, but Iraqis said no shots were fired at the Americans. No Americans were wounded by gunfire.

Hours after the second shooting, unidentified attackers lobbed two grenades into the U.S. compound, wounding seven soldiers.

At the time, many residents of Fallujah, 30 miles west of Baghdad, complained the Americans were not respecting Muslim religious customs, and many men said the troops were ogling local women. Those complaints persist.

"We are religious people," said Karim Kadhém, 42, a government worker. "We suspect the Americans are wearing glasses that let them see under women's clothes."

But Mayor Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani said the Americans have become better at respecting local customs.

"Our relationship is getting better, because of the mutual understanding between the Americans and the people of Fallujah, and the Americans' acceptance of the city's conservative religious beliefs," he said.

He said people also appreciate the free gasoline distributed by the Americans, and have grown to understand that there will be no security in the streets without the military presence. He blamed last month's trouble on supporters of the former government of Saddam Hussein.

Some in Fallujah still bristle at the U.S. presence.

Graffiti on the wall of the 28th of April School – named for Saddam's birthday – urged residents to rise up.

Iraqi town where U.S. troops fired on crowds still tense, but quiet The

"Defend yourselves. Defend your honor," it said. "Your pride was lost, and it will not be restored until you wage holy war. What are you waiting for? Until the Americans enter your houses and see your women?"

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May 15, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

LENGTH: 401 words

HEADLINE: Iraqi Town Still Tense After U.S. Row

BYLINE: NIKO PRICE; Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

Two weeks after the last confrontation here with U.S. troops, some residents still want the Americans out – and the Americans say they have no plans to go.

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war. What are you waiting for? Until the Americans enter your houses and see your women?"

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May 15, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

DISTRIBUTION: Europe; Britian; Scandinavia; Middle East; Africa; India; Asia; England

LENGTH: 453 words

HEADLINE: Iraqi town where U.S. troops fired on crowds still tense, but quiet

BYLINE: NIKO PRICE; Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

Two weeks after the last confrontation between U.S. troops and residents of this conservative town west of Baghdad, some residents still want the Americans out – and the Americans say they have no plans to go.

Convoys of Humvees file slowly down the main boulevard, with gunners scanning the marketplaces for signs of aggression. Iraqis scowl as they drive by, but do little else.

"The tension is really starting to ease up," said Staff Sgt. Steven Story. "We still get some gestures that are not so polite, but for the most part people are happy to see us here."

Story is part of a U.S. Army military police contingent still based in Fallujah, where protests against the Army's presence late last month turned violent. U.S. soldiers opened fire on crowds on April 28 and April 30, killing 18 Iraqis and wounding at least 78.

The soldiers said they were defending themselves from members of the crowd who fired first, but Iraqi witnesses said no shots were fired at the Americans. No Americans were injured in those incidents, and the discrepancy in accounts remains unresolved.

Hours after the second shooting, unidentified attackers lobbed two grenades into the U.S. compound, wounding seven soldiers. None of the injuries were life-threatening.

At the time, many residents of Fallujah, 50 kilometers (30 miles) west of Baghdad, complained that the Americans were not respecting their religious customs, and many men said the troops were ogling local women. Those complaints continue.

"We are religious people," said Karim Kadhem, 42, a local government worker. "We suspect the Americans are wearing glasses that let them see under women's clothes."

But Fallujah's mayor, Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, said the Americans have become better at respecting local customs.

"Our relationship is getting better, because of the mutual understanding between the Americans and the people of Fallujah, and the Americans' acceptance of the city's conservative religious beliefs," he said.

He said people also appreciate the Americans' handouts of free gasoline, and have grown to understand that there will be no security in the streets without the military presence. He blamed last month's trouble on supporters of the former

Iraqi town where U.S. troops fired on crowds still tense, but quiet Asso

government of Saddam Hussein unhappy about the regime's defeat.

Clearly, some in Fallujah still bristle at the presence of coalition forces.

Graffiti on the wall of the 28th of April School – named after Saddam's birthday – urged residents to rise up against the United States.

"Defend yourselves. Defend your honor," it said. "Your pride was lost, and it will not be restored until you wage holy war. What are you waiting for? Until the Americans enter your houses and see your women?"

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The San Diego Union-TribuneMay 5, 2003, Monday**SECTION:** NEWS;Pg. A-2**LENGTH:** 288 words**HEADLINE:** Iraq clash site calm, but it remains tense**BYLINE:** Maureen Fan; KNIGHT RIDDER NEWS SERVICE**BODY:**

FALLUJAH, Iraq — Tensions remained high but hostilities were seemingly on hold yesterday in Fallujah, the city west of Baghdad where U.S. soldiers and Iraqis have clashed in recent days.

Many Republican Guards and other beneficiaries of Saddam Hussein hail from the city of about 200,000 people.

U.S. soldiers continue to patrol streets and rooftops investigating "specific" threats against them three days after a grenade attack on a U.S. Army compound that residents identified as Baath Party headquarters. That came after soldiers fired at anti-American demonstrators.

But calm prevailed as local leaders and the U.S. military discussed how to patrol and protect vital places such as police and electric stations without offending local customs.

Sheik Mohamed Hamid Al-Shihan, a local tribal chief who said he spoke for about 2,000 people, said soldiers had offended residents by, he said, giving gum to children with wrappers that included pictures of naked women.

Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, governor of Fallujah, said things had stabilized and he and U.S. forces agreed electricity issues are one of the first priorities.

"Our intention is to downgrade," said 1st Lt. Brent Andrew of North Kingston, R.I., executive officer of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment. "It's been peaceful overnight, but tense."

His boss, Capt. Mike Reidmuller of Fox Troop, 2nd Squadron, 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, said soldiers were trying to work with residents to stabilize tensions and make the city safe. A curfew was imposed, for example, but altered to end at 4 a.m. to allow for early morning prayers, he said.

But, he added, "In cases where people direct hostile intent toward us, we will return and aim lethal fire."

LOAD-DATE: May 7, 2003

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San Jose Mercury News (California)

May 5, 2003 Monday MORNING FINAL EDITION

SECTION: FRONT; Pg. 8A

LENGTH: 287 words

HEADLINE: IRAQI CITY REMAINS TENSE, BUT CALMER AFTER CLASHES

BYLINE: MAUREEN FAN, Mercury News

DATELINE: AL-FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

Tensions remained high but hostilities were seemingly on hold Sunday in Al-Fallujah, the city west of Baghdad where U.S. soldiers and Iraqis have clashed in recent days.

Many Republican Guards and other beneficiaries of Saddam Hussein hail from the city of about 200,000 people. U.S. soldiers continue to patrol streets and rooftops investigating "specific" threats against them three days after a grenade attack on a U.S. Army compound that residents identified as Baath Party headquarters. That came after soldiers fired at anti-American demonstrators.

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NOTES: IRAQ: THE AFTERMATH

GRAPHIC: Photo;

PHOTO: CARL JUSTE — KNIGHT RIDDER

U.S. soldiers Staff Sgt. Louis Dupont, left, of Florida and Sgt. Shawn Sedillo of New Mexico keep watch in Al-Fallujah, Iraq.

LOAD-DATE: July 28, 2005

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Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington PostMay 4, 2003 Sunday
Final Edition**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A23**LENGTH:** 826 words**HEADLINE:** Troops Detain Three Top Iraqi Officials;
Captives Include Chief of Weapons Development**BYLINE:** Carol Morello, Washington Post Staff Writer**DATELINE:** BAGHDAD**BODY:**

U.S. officials said Friday that occupation troops have detained three more of the 55 most-wanted officials from former president Saddam Hussein's government, including a director of weapons development. The detentions bring to 18 the number of wanted officials taken into custody since Hussein's Baath Party rule collapsed April 9 as U.S. troops poured into Baghdad.

The detention of Abd Tawab Mullah Huwaysh, director of the Military Industrial Organization, could aid investigators in their hunt for information about suspected programs to produce biological, chemical or nuclear weapons. The Military Industrial Organization was the primary agency responsible for developing Iraq's most destructive weapons. Huwaysh was No. 16 on the most-wanted list.

Also taken into custody were Taha Muhyl Din Maruf, one of Iraq's two vice presidents and a member of the Revolutionary Command Council, and Mizban Khidir Hadi, another Revolutionary Command Council member who had been an aide to Hussein for two decades.

Maruf, number 42 on the list, was the only Kurd to attain a high position in the Baath Party. His appointment as vice president was widely perceived as a way to placate Iraq's Kurdish minority, and his influence was minimal. He rarely made public appearances, although he traveled to Morocco and Italy last fall looking for support against the looming war.

Hadi was promoted a year ago to oversee military defense in a southern region that included the cities of Karbala and Najaf. He had received decorations for his service in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the Shiite rebellion that ensued after Iraq was routed from Kuwait. He was No. 41 on the list.

The U.S. military offered few details about the circumstances in which the three were taken into custody. Hadi was captured in Baghdad on Thursday, the Army said, but it did not indicate whether the other two men had surrendered or been captured.

U.S. soldiers raided several houses Friday in Tikrit, Hussein's hometown and still a bastion of support for the former president. Many residents celebrated his birthday last week with street protests in which they waved his photograph and chanted his name. One Iraqi was killed during the raids when he attempted to grab a rifle from an American soldier, U.S. military officers said.

The raids occurred in a residential district a little after midnight as soldiers forced their way past gates and into homes. Military officers said they recovered weapons and about \$3,000 that had been stashed in the houses. About 20 men were led away blindfolded, with their hands tied behind their backs.

In Najaf, a Shiite Muslim city about 100 miles south of Baghdad, a group of gunmen fired automatic weapons and tossed hand grenades outside the shrine of Imam Ali, a site revered by Shiites as the burial spot of the son-in-law of the

Troops Detain Three Top Iraqi Officials; Captives Include Chief of Weapo

prophet Muhammad. Most escaped, but two men were arrested. They were later identified as suspects in the killing of Abdul Majid Khoei, a Shiite cleric who was hacked to death last month by a mob at the shrine.

At Friday prayers in the beleaguered city of Fallujah, where seven soldiers were wounded in an early morning attack on Thursday, preachers at some mosques used their sermons to decry what they called the "betrayers" and "intruders" among them who had instigated violence during anti-American demonstrations Monday and Wednesday in which 18 Iraqis were killed and dozens wounded.

The clerics and the U.S. military sought to calm tensions in the town, about 30 miles west of the capital. A planned demonstration was canceled. Humvees drove through the streets of town with a taped address broadcast over a loudspeaker imploring residents to stop the attacks.

"Allied forces are here to bring peace to Iraq and Fallujah and to rebuild Iraq," the announcement said. "Don't throw stones. Don't try to hurt them. Thank you for your cooperation."

At the Funqan mosque, Sheikh Abdelhamid Jumaily urged residents to refrain from protests and to remain calm.

"If we have demonstrations, we want them to be peaceful," he said. "We had a peaceful demonstration before, but some of the betrayers fired their guns so the Americans thought they were being attacked, and shot us and killed us."

At the Hadaya Mosque about 300 yards from the military compound, the imam said that "intruders who don't even pray" had instigated the clashes between residents and U.S. troops.

Taha Bedaiwi **Alwani**, whom U.S. occupation authorities recognize as Fallujah's mayor, has announced that he wants the troops to move out of the city. But Capt. Bren Workman, a public affairs officer with the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, said the mayor has made no such request to the Army.

"He didn't ask that we leave," Workman said. "He asked for the stability and security of the area."

But large banners posted throughout town and on the gate of city hall left no ambiguity. "Sooner or later US killers we'll kick you out," said one.

LOAD-DATE: May 4, 2003

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Copyright 2003 The San Diego Union-Tribune
The San Diego Union-TribuneMay 3, 2003, Saturday**SECTION:** NEWS;Pg. A-1**LENGTH:** 1096 words**HEADLINE:** Three more Iraqis on 'most wanted' list in custody**BYLINE:** Andrea Gerlin and Soraya Sarhaddi Nelson; KNIGHT RIDDER NEWS SERVICE | The Associated Press and Reuters contributed to this report.**BODY:**

BAGHDAD, Iraq — Three more men on the United States' list of the 55 "most wanted" former Iraqi regime members are in U.S. custody, bringing the total who have been apprehended to 18, military officials said yesterday.

A fourth former high-ranking official who is not on the top 55 list also was apprehended in Baghdad, military officers said.

In Najaf, local police captured the primary suspect in the slaying of a prominent pro-Western cleric, who was stabbed to death in a mosque in that city last month. The arrest was noteworthy not just for the crime but also because it was the first significant action by Najaf's new, mostly volunteer police force.

Mizban Khadr Hadi, the commander of one of four military regions Saddam Hussein established just before the war, was captured Thursday in Baghdad, the U.S. Army's V Corps announced.

Abdel Tawab Mullah Huweish, director of the Office of Military Industrialization, and Taha Muhie-eldin Marouf, a Kurd and top Baath Party official who served as one of two vice presidents, also were in custody, U.S. Central Command said.

Huweish, considered a close associate of Hussein's son Odai, oversaw Iraq's armaments programs. Huweish turned himself in yesterday after sending emissaries to negotiate his surrender with U.S. military officials this week, said Lt. Col. William Jeffers of the Army's Third Infantry Division.

Hadi was detained Thursday in Baghdad. It was unclear when Marouf was taken into custody.

Huweish was listed as No. 16 on the most-wanted list, Hadi was No. 41 and Marouf was No. 42.

The Military Industrialization Organization oversaw development of Iraq's most lethal weapons and Huweish's detention could add to investigators' knowledge of any programs aimed at producing chemical, biological or nuclear weapons.

Marouf was the only Kurd in the Baath hierarchy. He was appointed as one of Iraq's two vice presidents in 1975, but the position was seen largely as a gesture to the Kurdish minority and he had little real power.

Hadi had been promoted by Hussein in March to command military defense in the area that included the Shiite Muslim holy cities of Karbala and Najaf. He had been a minister without portfolio since 1982 and was decorated by Hussein for his services during the 1991 Gulf War and a monthlong Shiite rebellion that followed Iraq's defeat.

In Najaf, an hourlong grenade and gun battle that erupted outside the holiest Shiite shrine ended with the arrest of a man police say beat and fatally stabbed pro-Western cleric Abdul Majid al-Khoei at the shrine three weeks ago.

Mahar Ali Baghdadi was in custody at an undisclosed location with a bullet wound in his lower abdomen and two more in his left thigh resulting from a battle with police, according to a Najaf police official.

Baghdadi and 15 others have been on a most-wanted list circulated by Najaf authorities for the past two weeks, but

Three more Iraqis on 'most wanted' list in custody The San Die

yesterday was the first time there were enough police officers on duty to pursue any suspects, said Jaber Nima, 37, one of the arresting officers.

Al-Khoei, who had just returned to Iraq from exile, was a moderate cleric who U.S. officials had hoped would unite the country's fractious Shiites behind a democratic government.

Nima said police lookouts in town reported seeing Baghdadi near the Grand Imam Ali Shrine at 1:30 a.m. yesterday. Baghdadi threw a grenade into a crowd and injured two bystanders, Nima said. Fifty-four officers — the entire Najaf police force, cobbled together only recently — then rushed to the scene and came under fire from Baghdadi and about a dozen of his supporters.

Police fought back and gave chase, capturing Baghdadi and another suspect whose name was not on the wanted list. The other gunmen apparently got away.

Baghdadi's arrest pleased some townspeople. "He and his gang have been terrorizing our town," said shopkeeper Mohanet al Hosei, 26.

Nima said he does not know what will happen to Baghdadi. Iraq's legal system has been largely nonexistent since the collapse of the Hussein government.

There were indications that his arrest would not be the end of tension in Najaf.

An hour after Baghdadi's arrest, a group of his supporters fired on the city jail across the street, mistakenly thinking Baghdadi was inside and that they could free him, Nima said. Police were able to repel the attackers, Nima said.

Shiites, who are a majority in Iraq, were oppressed under Hussein's predominantly Sunni Muslim regime.

No new violence was reported yesterday in Fallujah, where seven U.S. soldiers were wounded Thursday in a grenade attack.

That attack was in apparent retaliation for U.S. gunfire earlier in the week that killed at least 15 people, according to local hospital officials. U.S. officers said their soldiers were defending themselves after being shot at, while residents said the victims were unarmed protesters.

In central Baghdad yesterday, U.S. troops blew up land mines and unexploded shells, rocking the Iraqi capital, witnesses said.

They said the soldiers detonated a number of land mines inside a former presidential complex on the western bank of the Tigris River.

More explosions were heard from other parts of the city which were also believed to be controlled detonations of unexploded munitions, residents said.

In Tikrit, soldiers with the U.S. Army 4th Infantry Division killed three suspected Iraqi paramilitary fighters yesterday after a drone surveillance plane spotted them taking mortar rounds from an ammunition cache.

Two Apache attack helicopters were called in after the Iraqis were spotted loading two dump trucks with ammunition from a known cache, said Col. Don Campbell, commander of the division's 1st Brigade. By the time the helicopters arrived, one of the trucks was gone and the other was moving toward the gate of the compound.

One Apache fired warning shots with its 30mm cannons and the truck stopped, then resumed traveling. After a second warning volley, the truck continued to move, so the vehicle was destroyed and all three people in it were killed, Campbell said.

"The truck was still burning 45 minutes later and there were several secondary explosions, so that indicates there was a lot of ammunition in that truck," Campbell said.

At another ammunition cache about three miles away, the drone aircraft spotted 15 to 20 pickup trucks being loaded with ammunition. When Apaches were called in and fired warning shots, the men abandoned the vehicles and fled. Five of the larger trucks were then destroyed by the helicopters, Campbell said.

Three more Iraqis on 'most wanted' list in custody The San Die

GRAPHIC: 4 PICS; 1. Andy Rogers / Associated Press; 1. The mayor of Fallujah, Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani (center), and Lt. Col. Tobin Green, commander of the 2nd Squadron of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment (right), yesterday talked about how to stabilize the city. (A-16) 2,3,4. Three more Iraqi officials were arrested yesterday: Taha Muhie-eldin Marouf, a vice president; one of Saddam Hussein's chief weapons advisers, Abdel Tawab Mullah Huweish; and Mizban Khadr Hadi, a member of the Revolutionary Command Council. (A-16)

LOAD-DATE: May 6, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Ventura County Star
Ventura County Star (California)May 3, 2003 Saturday**SECTION:** News; Pg. A04**LENGTH:** 567 words**HEADLINE:** City seethes under U.S. presence**BYLINE:** Carol Rosenberg; Knight Ridder Newspapers**BODY:**

FALLUJAH, Iraq — Friday's sermon at the mosque outside the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment's makeshift compound captured the confusion that encircles this unruly city, which is still seething over the invasion of American troops.

In the space of a few minutes, Sheik Nazar counseled worshippers to be ready to fight but then told them to be calm, for now, and go back to work.

"Don't listen to the intruders who are misleading the people and causing the clashes between us and the Americans," the sheik said, as if confirming the U.S. belief that Baath Party secularists loyal to Saddam Hussein are fomenting trouble.

Then, his voice echoing over U.S. forces poised nearby in full battle dress, the sheik urged worshippers to adopt a patient jihad. When the Algerians waged war to end their colonialism, he said, "it took 1 million martyrs to drive out the French."

Four days after U.S. troops first opened fire on protesters in this 200,000-strong Sunni suburb of Baghdad, eventually killing 16 and wounding more than 50 Iraqis, the violence finally seemed to subside outside the U.S. military's main compound.

But no one knew why or could say how long it might last.

"There's blood now between us and the Americans, and revenge is a principle here," warned Halaf Abed Shebib, a tribal chief dressed in a flowing white gown and headdress. Shebib claims 50,000 Sunni followers and says they all agree with him that the Americans must leave.

"We can't control the young people. They are filled with rage. They want revenge — just like the people in Palestine can't stop their young people from doing suicide bombings," he said of the clashes, which took on a new twist Thursday when someone rolled two grenades into the Army's compound, wounding seven soldiers.

Inside Cavalry headquarters, Capt. Bren Workman vowed U.S. forces would do "whatever it takes" to make the city safe enough to let Iraqis get on with their lives.

He blamed the violence on "outside factions that don't want to see reconstruction begin," but said he had no insight to offer on who they might be, adding that the identity of the troublemakers was irrelevant — be they tribal sheiks, mullahs or "the PTA."

Friday, they delivered their message from columns of U.S. armor that rolled through the streets, using loudspeakers to compete in Arabic with the prayers.

"American forces are here to maintain discipline and peace," a voice inside an armored personnel carrier said as it passed Sheik Nazar's al-Hedaya Mosque. "Don't throw stones on the American troops."

Meanwhile, inside the municipal headquarters next door, the newly self-installed mayor, a former exile, said he was trying to calm the crowds — but, he said, the Americans needed to get out of his city. "We're not refusing the American presence around the city as a security measure," Taha Bidawi al Alwani said. "But we refuse the American presence

City seethes under U.S. presence Ventura County Star (California) May 3,

inside the city and the streets."

Alwani then triumphantly announced he had negotiated an agreement that the U.S. forces would soon withdraw — a claim that Workman swiftly rejected.

But both sides agreed on one thing Friday: There was no violence for the first day this week. "By all accounts it is calm today and we read the tea leaves," Workman said, "we take into account all we possibly can in regards to a successful accomplishment of our mission to stabilize the area."

GRAPHIC: Photos by Andy Rogers / The Gazette (Colorado Springs)

A soldier from Fox Troop, 2nd Squadron, 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment guards a compound controlled by U.S. forces in Fallujah, Iraq, on Friday.

Soldiers from the 3rd Armory Cavalry Regiment add concertina wire to a wall around their compound in Fallujah.

Speaking through an interpreter, Taha Bidawi al Alwani, the mayor of Fallujah, Iraq, center, and Lt. Col. Tobin Green, commander of the 2nd Squadron of the 3rd Armory Cavalry Regiment, talk about ways to bring stability to the city.

LOAD-DATE: May 13, 2003

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Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington PostMay 3, 2003 Saturday
Final Edition**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A13**LENGTH:** 826 words**HEADLINE:** Troops Detain 3 Top Iraqi Officials;
Captives Include Arms Development Chief**BYLINE:** Carol Morello, Washington Post Staff Writer**DATELINE:** BAGHDAD May 2**BODY:**

U.S. officials said today that occupation troops have detained three more of the 55 most-wanted officials from former president Saddam Hussein's government, including a director of weapons development. Their detention brings to 18 the number of wanted officials taken into custody since Hussein's Baath Party rule collapsed April 9 as U.S. troops poured into Baghdad.

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Maruf, number 42 on the list, was the only Kurd to attain a high position in the Baath Party. His appointment as vice president was widely perceived as a way to placate Iraq's Kurdish minority, and his influence was minimal. He rarely made public appearances, although he traveled to Morocco and Italy last fall looking for support against the looming war.

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Troops Detain 3 Top Iraqi Officials; Captives Include Arms Development C

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Los Angeles Times

May 2, 2003 Friday
Home Edition

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Part 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 204 words

HEADLINE: Grenade Attack Wounds 7 Soldiers

BYLINE: From Times Wire Services

DATELINE: FALLOUJA, Iraq

BODY:

Seven U.S. soldiers were wounded when Iraqis lobbed two grenades into their base in Fallouja, where at least 16 people were killed during face-offs this week with American troops, the U.S. military said Thursday.

"The attack was an expression of the anger of a few people," Army Capt.

Alan Vaught said.

Fallouja Mayor Taha Badawi Hamid Alwani and some residents said the assailants used rocket-propelled grenades.

Soldiers at the compound, a former police station, said they could not tell whether the grenades were thrown or launched.

None of the injuries to soldiers of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment were life-threatening, Army Capt. Frank Rosenblatt said.

The troops inside the compound opened fire on men fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed hit, said Rosenblatt, whose 82nd Airborne Division is handing over control to the Armored Cavalry.

On Monday, soldiers fired on an angry crowd demanding that U.S. troops leave a school they had occupied. At least fourteen Iraqis were killed.

Two days later, two Iraqis were killed when U.S. soldiers opened fire during a protest of the first incident. The military said the troops were shot at first in both cases. Iraqi witnesses said the troops fired first.

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Sentinel Communications Co.
Orlando Sentinel (Florida)May 2, 2003 Friday, FINAL**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A9**LENGTH:** 937 words**HEADLINE:** 7 U.S. SOLDIERS HURT IN ATTACK ON COMPOUND**BYLINE:** Rajiv Chandrasekaran and Scott Wilson, the Washington Post**BODY:**

FALLUJAH, Iraq — Attackers thought to be hostile Iraqis tossed two grenades into a U.S. Army compound in this restive city early Thursday morning, wounding seven U.S. soldiers.

The attack was apparently retribution for the killings of 18 Iraqi protesters by U.S. forces earlier this week.

Although none of the soldiers suffered life-threatening injuries, the assault underscored rising resentment against the U.S. military occupation in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 about 30 miles west of Baghdad. It was known as a center of support for fallen President Saddam Hussein's Baath Party.

Fallujah has been racked by violent anti-American demonstrations since Monday, when shooting broke out as demonstrators converged on a school where soldiers from the Army's 82nd Airborne Division had set up camp.

U.S. officers said the soldiers opened fire after several armed protesters shot at the school, but participants in the rally insisted they were unarmed. Local officials said 16 people were killed and more than 50 were wounded in that clash.

Soldiers in another compound and in a passing Army convoy, both from the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, opened fire Wednesday on a second group of people, who were protesting Monday's shooting. U.S. officials said the soldiers shot back after the convoy was fired on; doctors here said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

Lt. Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armored Cavalry, which has assumed responsibility for the city from the 82nd Airborne, said a group of men approached the compound about 1 a.m. Thursday. His soldiers did not fire, he said, citing concern about further inflaming tensions. But then the grenades were thrown into the compound, a former police station taken over by the U.S. military, and the soldiers fired back, he said. No one was thought to have been hit.

At the school where Monday's shooting occurred, teachers spent the day cleaning up in preparation for the start of classes scheduled for Saturday. The headmaster, Mohammed Ahmed, said that before they left U.S. soldiers had damaged furniture and classroom supplies and left offensive graffiti on the walls.

In one classroom, "I [love] Pork," with the word love represented by a heart, was written on the blackboard along with a drawing of a camel and the words: "Iraqi Cab Company." In another room, "Eat [expletive] Iraq" was scrawled on a wall. And in Ahmed's office, sexual organs were drawn with white chalk on the back of the door.

"They came to liberate us?" Ahmed asked, pointing out the graffiti to a reporter. "What is the point of doing this?"

Green met later Thursday with the city's self-appointed but U.S.-recognized mayor, Taha Bedawi Alwani, in an effort to address concerns of city residents upset that the soldiers had occupied the school and patrolled rooftops, where they could peer down on women in nearby homes.

Alwani said residents want the soldiers to leave the central part of Fallujah and instead base outside the city. He accused U.S. troops of "horrible behavior" and insisted they should relocate "so that there will be no more provocation and no more friction."

If the soldiers pull back, he said, he and other city leaders will urge residents to stop protesting the U.S. presence here.

7 U.S. SOLDIERS HURT IN ATTACK ON COMPOUND Orlando Sentinel (Florida) Ma

While he was meeting with Green, a small group of protesters converged outside the mayor's office and unfurled banners that read, "Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kick you out" and "USA leave our country."

U.S. military officials contend the violence has been instigated by a small but fanatical group of Saddam loyalists seeking to draw U.S. forces into shooting civilians in an effort to whip up anti-American sentiments.

Fallujah had long been one of Saddam's strongest bases of support. Numerous factories were situated nearby to provide steady employment for residents, many of whom served in Saddam's Republican Guard.

Green said his commanders have not decided whether to pull out of certain locations as requested by residents, but he said troops will stay in the city. "There is going to be a presence in the city to provide stability and safety and promote rebuilding," he said.

He said he saw no problem with his soldiers occupying a compound that used to be a police headquarters and an office for Saddam's once-ruling Baath Party. "I think there's nothing improper with helping the people understand that that party and that regime are not going to be part of their future," Green said. "I don't have any qualms about the fact that our presence helps folks who lived under that intimidation and fear."

In Baghdad's wealthy Mansur district, meanwhile, people thought by witnesses to be militiamen loyal to Saddam's fallen government set fire to a commercial shopping center, sending billows of black smoke into a twilight sky. The arson appeared designed to destroy what was in the shopping center's basement, behind a door in the parking garage marked ominously "Do Not Stop."

The large room contained rows of scuffed steel filing cabinets filled with internal-security documents, according to a member of the Committee of Free Iraqi Prisoners who headed to the fire in a dump truck. The files concerned suspected members of the outlawed Shiite-dominated Dawa organization, the Iraqi Communist Party and hundreds of people suspected of being involved in a 1991 antigovernment uprising after the Persian Gulf War.

U.S. Army officers said they have intelligence that former Baath Party officials potentially implicated in the archives were planning to destroy them. The shopping-center fire Thursday seemed to support those worries.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: In Fallujah, Iraq. A U.S. soldier stands guard with his binoculars after 2 men lobbed 2 grenades over the wall of a U.S. base Thursday.

MARCO DI LAURO FOR GETTY IMAGES

COLUMN: AMERICA AT WAR

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario)

May 2, 2003 Friday Final Edition

SECTION: FRONT; Pg. A9

LENGTH: 796 words

HEADLINE: U.S. officials say Iraq is calm despite some clashes

SOURCE: Associated Press

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, IRAQ

BODY:

Attackers lobbed two grenades into a U.S. army compound yesterday, wounding seven soldiers just hours after the Americans had fired on Iraqi protesters in the street outside, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

The incident, the latest in a series of clashes and deadly shootings involving U.S. troops in Fallujah, came as U.S. President George W. Bush prepared to address the American public from a homeward-bound aircraft carrier, declaring that major combat in Iraq is finished.

None of the soldiers were seriously injured, said Capt. Frank Rosenblatt.

The troops inside the walled compound, a former police station, opened fire on men fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed hit, said Rosenblatt, whose 82nd Airborne Division is handing over control of Fallujah to the Armored Cavalry.

SEVERAL INCIDENTS

The attack, at 1 a.m. yesterday, came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing army convoy opened fire Wednesday on demonstrators massed outside. Local hospital officials said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

American officers said that barrage was provoked when someone fired on the convoy from the crowd.

Wednesday's march was to protest bloodshed Monday night, when 16 demonstrators and bystanders were killed and more than 50 wounded, according to hospital counts. In that clash, U.S. soldiers who said they were being shot at fired on a protest outside a school occupied by Americans.

Some Fallujah residents said they had heard relatives of victims vow to avenge Wednesday's shootings, and many in the city have declared they want the U.S. troops to leave.

Brig.-Gen. Dan Hahn said U.S. forces had solid intelligence that the "bad actors" in Fallujah were members of Saddam Hussein's Baath party who were using crowds as cover during demonstrations.

"The people in the city want to get rid of this problem. We have people in the city coming up to tell us who the bad actors are," Hahn said. "In every instance, our soldiers have shown discipline and restraint."

In the future, he said, tear gas and other riot-control measure might be used to quash violent demonstrations.

Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 50 kilometres west of Baghdad, benefited more than most Iraqi towns from Saddam's regime.

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. Many of its young men joined elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

U.S. military officials met Wednesday with local religious and clan leaders on the security situation.

U.S. officials say Iraq is calm despite some clashes The Record (Kitchen

"We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

Residents said they were troubled by soldiers looking at local women and some believed the Americans' goggles and binoculars allow them to see through curtains or clothing.

Despite the Fallujah clashes, U.S. military commanders in Baghdad said the overall situation in Iraq is improving.

"If you look at the country as a whole, it is stable," said Hahn. But he said the arms and ammunition being uncovered daily across Iraq posed a major problem.

"The entire country is almost like an ammunitions and weapons dump. And they've placed them in places you would not expect," he said. "There are weapons here from every country in the world that makes weapons."

PLEA FOR CO-OPERATION

In the northern city of Mosul, 153 arms caches had already been found, one containing 1.2 million mortar rounds and 65,000 artillery shells. Some 150 arms and ammunition sites have been discovered in Baghdad, officials said.

In a radio broadcast yesterday, the commander of U.S. ground forces in Iraq urged citizens to help move the country forward by going back to work, stopping looting and co-operating to improve postwar security.

Lt.-Gen. David McKiernan made the statement through Information Radio, the U.S.-led coalition's station, which is broadcast across Iraq.

"I call for putting an end to all acts of sabotage and criminal acts including plundering, looting and attacking coalition forces," he said in remarks read by an announcer in Arabic.

Information Radio has been running frequent announcements exhorting Iraqis to accept U.S. forces, and warning any foreign fighters in Iraq to leave or face arrest.

In other developments:

A government official in Jordan said customs officers searching people leaving Iraq have confiscated dozens of works of art and archeological items.

Britain will establish its first diplomatic presence in Iraq for 12 years when a team of officials travels to Baghdad this weekend, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said yesterday.

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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Copyright 2003 The Scotsman Publications Ltd.
The ScotsmanMay 2, 2003, Friday**SECTION:** Pg. 15**LENGTH:** 686 words**HEADLINE:** SOLDIERS HURT IN GRENADE ATTACK AT BASE**BYLINE:** Saul Hudson In Falluja And Foreign Staff**BODY:**

SEVEN US soldiers were wounded in a grenade attack at their base in the tense Iraqi city of Falluja, the US military said yesterday.

"The attack was an expression of the anger of a few people in the city," said Captain Alan Vaught, a military spokesman in the town where US troops killed at least 15 people during protests this week.

Standing by the bullet-ridden taxi in which his uncle was shot dead, Ahmed Muthana, 14, put that anger in harsher words. "I hate Americans," he said. "I want revenge. I will wait, I will join a group, and, one day, I will kill Americans."

Senior US military officers in Baghdad yesterday insisted that the clashes this week give a false impression of a situation that is improving. "The bottom line is that if you look at the country as a whole, it is stable," said Brigadier General Dan Hahn, the Army V Corps chief of staff.

But in Baghdad yesterday, another chaotic tragedy illustrated the fine line US soldiers must tread. One person was killed and several injured when a tanker exploded at a petrol station in the city centre.

Witnesses said Iraqis celebrating the return of electrical power had fired gunshots nearby, igniting spilled petrol.

But as US tanks came to clear the way for ambulances and fire engines, people looking for relatives at the station started chanting anti-US slogans and some wrestled with US soldiers in scenes often repeated in the increasingly lawless capital.

"All this has happened because there's no law here in Baghdad. There's no control and the Americans do nothing," said one bystander, Salik Alai. "People have just lost their families, and they won't let them go inside. If America wants to help us what are they waiting for?"

Some US soldiers said they suspected the tanker might have been fired on deliberately.

Of the seven servicemen injured in Falluja when at least two grenades were thrown into their compound late on Wednesday night, five required medical attention and were in stable condition yesterday.

Falluja's mayor, **Taha** Badawi Hamid al-**Alwani**, yesterday condemned the attack. "Anybody, whoever he is, American or Iraqi, who resorts to violence is an evil person," said Mr Alwani, selected by local tribesmen to lead the city after the fall of Saddam Hussein.

But his deputy, Ziad Mekhlif, said: "The religious leaders in the city are working with the government to ask the people to stay calm. But, if the Americans make a mistake and overreact again, I don't know how we will contain the hatred."

Falluja fared well under Saddam's regime, with chemical and other factories built there, and many of its young men served in the Iraqi army's elite Republican Guard.

Residents unfurled anti-American banners on the walls of the mayor's compound yesterday. "Sooner or later US

SOLDIERS HURT IN GRENADE ATTACK AT BASE The Scotsman May 2, 2003, Friday

killers we'll kick you out," read one sign in English.

On Monday, US soldiers opened fire on an angry crowd demanding they leave a school they had entered. Thirteen Iraqis were killed, and two days later two more were killed.

The US military said its troops were shot at by gunmen close to the protesters. They have left the school, and city officials are negotiating to move their base out of the city centre.

Ahmed's uncle died thanks to a series of tragic errors. First, Ahmed's father was wounded in the leg, shepherding his children to safety as the trouble began. His uncle then tried to drive the boy's father to hospital – until bullets raked his orange and white cab.

Mr Mekhlif said the US military presence had been scaled back yesterday, with no road check-points and fewer surveillance helicopters.

Yet talk of revenge came from other residents of Falluja yesterday. Hend Majid, 29, a housewife, said she was glad Saddam was gone but the US "occupation" that led to her neighbours' deaths had made her feel like a Palestinian under Israeli rule.

Sitting in her living room, where two bullets had flown above the cot of her seven-day-old niece, she vowed to become a suicide bomber. "I will strap explosives to my chest to get rid of them," she said.

LOAD-DATE: May 3, 2003

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St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

May 2, 2003 Friday 0 South Pinellas Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL; Pg. 7A

LENGTH: 823 words

HEADLINE: U.S. soldiers hurt as Iraqi fury festers

SOURCE: Compiled from Times Wires

BODY:

Resentment of the U.S. military flared around Iraq on Thursday, sometimes violently. Grenades injured seven soldiers in a city where troops have fatally fired on protesters, and Baghdad residents quickly blamed America for a deadly explosion.

Fallujah: 7 soldiers hurt

Attackers believed to be hostile Iraqis tossed two grenades into a U.S. Army compound in this restive city early Thursday, wounding seven U.S. soldiers in apparent retribution for the killings of 18 Iraqi protesters by U.S. forces this week.

Although none of the soldiers suffered life-threatening injuries, the assault underscored rising resentment against the U.S. occupation in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 about 30 miles west of Baghdad that was known as a center of support for fallen President Saddam Hussein.

Fallujah has been wracked by violent anti-American demonstrations since Monday, when shooting broke out as demonstrators converged on a school where soldiers from the Army's 82nd Airborne Division had set up camp. U.S. officers said the soldiers opened fire after several armed protesters shot at the school, but participants in the rally insisted they were unarmed. Local officials said 16 people were killed and more than 50 were wounded in that clash.

Soldiers in another compound and in a passing Army convoy, both from the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, opened fire Wednesday on a second group of people, who were protesting Monday's shooting. U.S. officials said the soldiers shot back after the convoy was fired on; doctors said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

Lt. Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armored Cavalry, which has assumed responsibility for the city from the 82nd Airborne, said a group of men approached the compound about 1 a.m. Thursday. His soldiers did not fire, he said, citing concern over further inflaming tensions. But then the grenades were thrown into the compound, a former police station taken over by the U.S. military, and the soldiers fired back, he said. No one was believed to have been hit.

Green met later Thursday with the city's self-appointed but U.S.-recognized mayor, Taha Bedawi Alwani, in an effort to address concerns of city residents upset that the soldiers had occupied the school and patrolled rooftops, where they could peer down on women in nearby homes.

If the soldiers leave central Fallujah, Alwani said, city leaders will urge residents to stop protesting the U.S. presence.

U.S. military officials contend the violence has been instigated by a small but fanatical group of Hussein loyalists seeking to draw U.S. forces into shooting civilians in an effort to whip up anti-American sentiments.

Baghdad: U.S. is blamed

No one is sure what set off the enormous fireball that consumed a crowded neighborhood gas station and the big fuel-storage tanks behind it. It could have been a stray spark, a downed power line, thieves' bungled siphoning or a burst of gunfire celebrating the return of electricity in the neighborhood.

U.S. soldiers hurt as Iraqi fury festers St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

But the leaping orange flames had not yet begun to die down Thursday afternoon when rumors ran through the restive crowd that had gathered to watch ambulances ferry away the dead and wounded: The Americans must be to blame.

The conflagration in a crowded, rundown neighborhood near Baghdad's Iraq Museum killed at least three men and left two dozen people with grievous burns, doctors said.

It also underscored a mood of gathering resentment in this sprawling capital, whose residents are fast developing a tendency to blame any and all troubles on the U.S. troops who lounge atop tanks parked at city intersections and roar through rush-hour traffic in Humvees coated with desert dust.

American soldiers who arrived on tanks held back an angry crowd complaining the troops didn't do enough to help those injured by the explosion near the central railroad station.

Tikrit: 20 detained in raid

U.S. soldiers raided a dozen buildings in Hussein's hometown early today, taking about 20 people into custody, including a suspected local Baath Party leader.

One Iraqi was killed when he tried to take a rifle away from an American soldier, according to Maj. Mike Silverman, operations officer of the 1st Brigade of the 4th Infantry Division.

The raid, the second in Tikrit in two days, began shortly after midnight when six Bradley fighting vehicles sealed off a neighborhood of houses and apartments.

Soldiers broke down compound gates and doors with handheld battering rams, forced their way inside and emerged with about 20 men, who were blindfolded with their hands tied behind their backs.

- Information from the Washington Post, Associated Press and Los Angeles Times was used in this report.

A woman searches for her two children, who disappeared amid a fire after an explosion at a gas station in central Baghdad, Iraq, on Thursday. Some bystanders blamed U.S. troops for the blast or not doing enough to help the victims.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, Associated Press; A woman searches for her two children, who disappeared amid a fire after an explosion at a gas station in central Baghdad, Iraq, on Thursday.

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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The Standard (St. Catharines, Ontario)

May 2, 2003 Friday Final Edition

SECTION: World; Pg. C8

LENGTH: 484 words

HEADLINE: Grenade attack wounds 7 U.S. soldiers

SOURCE: The Associated Press

BYLINE: Charles J. Hanley

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq – Attackers lobbed two grenades into a U.S. army compound Thursday, wounding seven soldiers just hours after the Americans had fired on Iraqi protesters in the street outside, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

None of the injuries to soldiers of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Fallujah was life-threatening, said Capt. Frank Rosenblatt.

The troops inside the walled compound, a former police station, opened fire on men fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed hit, said Rosenblatt, whose 82nd Airborne Division is handing over control of Fallujah to the Armored Cavalry. Officers said the attackers' identities were unknown.

The attack, at 1 a.m. Thursday, came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing army convoy opened fire Wednesday on anti-American demonstrators massed outside. Local hospital officials said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded. American officers said that barrage was provoked when someone fired on the convoy from the crowd.

Wednesday's march was to protest earlier bloodshed Monday night, when 16 demonstrators and bystanders were killed and more than 50 wounded, according to hospital counts. In that clash, an 82nd Airborne company, whose members said they were being shot at, fired on a protest outside a school occupied by U.S. soldiers.

Some Fallujah residents said they had heard relatives of victims vow to avenge Wednesday's shootings, and many in the city have declared they want the American troops to leave.

Brig.-Gen. Dan Hahn, the U.S. army 5th Corps chief of staff, said U.S. forces had solid intelligence that the "bad actors" in Fallujah were members of Saddam Hussein's Baath party who were using crowds as cover during demonstrations.

"The people in the city want to get rid of this problem. We have people in the city coming up to tell us who the bad actors are," Hahn said. "In every instance, our soldiers have shown discipline and restraint."

In the future, he said, tear gas and other riot control measure might be used to quash violent demonstrations.

Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 50 kilometres west of Baghdad, benefited more than most Iraqi towns from Saddam's regime.

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. Many of its young men joined elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

U.S. military officials met Wednesday with local religious and clan leaders on the security situation.

"We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and

Grenade attack wounds 7 U.S. soldiers The Standard (St. Catharines, Onta

injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers looking at Fallujah women, and some believed the Americans' goggles or binoculars allowed them to see through curtains or clothing.

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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Times Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)

May 2, 2003 Friday Final Edition

SECTION: News; Pg. A4

LENGTH: 948 words

HEADLINE: Attackers lob grenades at GIs: Seven U.S. soldiers wounded as postwar violence continues

SOURCE: The Associated Press

BYLINE: Charles J. Hanley

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq — Attackers hurled two grenades into a U.S. army compound Thursday, wounding seven soldiers just hours after the Americans had fired on Iraqi protesters in the street outside, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

The incident, the latest in a series of clashes and deadly shootings involving U.S. troops in Fallujah, came as U.S. President George W. Bush prepared an address to the American public from a homeward-bound aircraft carrier, declaring that major combat in Iraq is finished.

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Attackers lob grenades at GIs: Seven U.S. soldiers wounded as postwar vi

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Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers looking at Fallujah women, and some believed the Americans' goggles or binoculars allowed them to see through curtains or clothing.

Despite the clashes in Fallujah, U.S. military commanders in Baghdad said the overall situation in Iraq is improving.

"If you look at the country as a whole, it is stable," said Hahn. But he said the massive amount of arms and ammunition being uncovered daily across Iraq posed a major problem.

"The entire country is almost like an ammunition and weapons dump. And they've placed them in places you would not expect," he said. "There are weapons here from every country in the world that makes weapons."

In the northern city of Mosul, 153 arms caches had already been found, one containing 1.2 million mortar rounds and 65,000 artillery shells. Some 150 arms and ammunition sites have been discovered in Baghdad, officials said.

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"I call for putting an end to all acts of sabotage and criminal acts including plundering, looting and attacking coalition forces," he said in remarks read by an announcer in Arabic.

Information Radio has been running frequent announcements exhorting Iraqis to accept U.S. forces, and warning any foreign fighters in Iraq to leave or face arrest.

McKiernan also said that any checkpoints not supervised by coalition forces are unauthorized.

IN OTHER DEVELOPMENTS:

- A government official in Jordan said customs officers searching travellers leaving Iraq have confiscated dozens of artworks and archaeological items that may have been stolen from the National Museum in Baghdad and Saddam's palaces.

- Britain will establish its first diplomatic presence in Iraq for 12 years when a team of officials travels to Baghdad this weekend, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said Thursday. The four-member diplomatic mission will set up an office to prepare for reopening an embassy once a new government is in place. The British embassy in Baghdad closed on Jan. 12 1991, four days before Operation Desert Storm launched the Gulf War.

- A group of civil engineers was shot at while working in a gas-oil separation plant in southern Iraq's Rumeila oil fields, according to the U.S. Central Command. No injuries were reported; Central Command did not give the nationality of the engineers or any details about the assailants.

GRAPHIC: Photo: David Guttenfelder, Associated Press; A U.S. soldier shuts himself into an armoured personnel carrier in a courtyard where attackers threw two grenades over a wall and into a compound of U.S. troops early Thursday in the tense city of Fallujah, wounding seven soldiers. None of the injuries to the soldiers was life-threatening.

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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Voice of America News

May 2, 2003

SECTION: CORRESPONDENT REPORT 2-302832

LENGTH: 444 words

HEADLINE: IRAQ / FALLUJA (L O)

BYLINE: LAURIE KASSMAN

TEXT: FALLUJA, IRAQ

INTRO: The Iraqi town of Falluja appeared to be calm on Friday after clashes earlier in the week between American soldiers and demonstrators. More than a dozen Iraqis were killed in two shooting incidents and seven U-S soldiers were injured in a grenade attack. Correspondent Laurie Kassman has the details in Falluja.

[VOICE FROM MOSQUE LOUDSPEAKER AND FADE]

Religious leaders in Falluja called for calm during sermons following traditional Muslim prayers Friday. They warned worshippers not to listen to those who try to provoke clashes between American soldiers and Iraqis.

But at the same time, they also urged Iraqis to defend their homeland against any occupation by outside forces.

Falluja's mayor, religious and local leaders are trying to encourage calm to ease tensions between town residents and American soldiers stationed there.

American military patrols also use loudspeakers to tell Falluja's residents they are there to restore stability and not to cause trouble.

The town is considered a stronghold of Saddam supporters.

Earlier in the week, U-S soldiers fired on a crowd of protesters after shots were fired at a school they were using as a base of operation.

The next day, Tuesday, soldiers in a U-S military convoy returned fire after they say they were shot at by someone in a crowd that had gathered in front of the mayor's office, located next to another U-S compound.

More than a dozen Iraqis were killed and scores more injured in the two incidents.

In the early hours of Wednesday, a grenade was tossed into the U-S military compound, injuring seven soldiers.

Angry residents say they want the Americans to leave Falluja. They refer to them as a force of occupation.

Falluja's self-appointed mayor, **Taha** Bidawi al **Alwani**, says he wants the U-S troops to relocate to the edge of town to ease tensions. He spoke through a translator

[ALWANI ACT IN ARABIC, EST AND FADE TO TRANSLATION]

They are not refusing the American presence around the city as a security measure but they refuse the American existence in the city and the streets.

[END ACT]

U-S military spokesman Captain Bren Workman says discussions are continuing on how to resolve the issue.

[WORKMAN ACT]

Voice of America News May 2, 2003

By all accounts it is calm today. And we read the tea leaves. We take into account all we possibly can in regards to a successful accomplishment of our mission to stabilize this area. And, there is no specific indicators of things that might thwart us in that endeavor.

[END ACT]

Local leaders and the U-S military suggest that some people loyal to Saddam Hussein are trying to stir up trouble.
(Signed)

NEB/LMK/KL/RH/FC

LOAD-DATE: May 5, 2003

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Voice of America Press Releases and Documents

May 2, 2003 Friday

LENGTH: 437 words

HEADLINE: IRAQ / FALLUJA (L O)

BODY:

FALLUJA, IRAQ

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IRAQ / FALLUJA (L O) Voice of America Press Releases and Documents May 2

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NEB/LMK/KL/RH/FC

CONTACT: 202-619-2538

NOTES:

PUBLISHER: Federal Information & News Dispatch

LOAD-DATE: January 28, 2005

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Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington PostMay 2, 2003 Friday
Final Edition**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A21**LENGTH:** 1119 words**HEADLINE:** Iraqi City Simmers With New Attack;
Grenade Wounds 7 Soldiers in Fallujah**BYLINE:** Rajiv Chandrasekaran and Scott Wilson, Washington Post Foreign Service**DATELINE:** FALLUJAH, Iraq May 1**BODY:**

Attackers believed to be hostile Iraqis tossed two grenades into a U.S. Army compound in this restive city early this morning, wounding seven soldiers in apparent retribution for the killings of 18 Iraqi protesters by U.S. forces over the past several days.

Although none of the soldiers suffered life-threatening injuries, the assault underscored rising resentment against the U.S. military occupation in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 about 35 miles west of Baghdad that was known as a center of support for fallen president Saddam Hussein's Baath Party.

Fallujah has been wracked by violent anti-American demonstrations since Monday, when shooting broke out as demonstrators converged on a school where soldiers from the Army's 82nd Airborne Division had set up camp. U.S. officers said the soldiers opened fire after several armed protesters shot at the school, but participants in the rally insisted they were unarmed. Local officials said 16 people were killed and more than 50 were wounded.

Soldiers in another compound and in a passing Army convoy, both from the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, opened fire Wednesday on a second group of people, who were protesting Monday's shooting. U.S. officials said the soldiers shot back after the convoy was fired on; doctors here said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

In today's attack, Lt. Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armored Cavalry, which has assumed responsibility for the city from the 82nd Airborne, said a group of men approached the compound about 1 a.m. His soldiers did not fire, he said, citing concern over further inflaming tensions. But then the grenades were thrown into the compound, a former police station taken over by the U.S. military, and the soldiers fired back, he said. No one was believed to have been hit.

At the school where Monday's shooting occurred, teachers spent the day cleaning up in preparation for the start of classes on Saturday. The headmaster, Mohammed Ahmed, said that before they left, U.S. soldiers had damaged furniture and classroom supplies and left offensive graffiti on the walls.

In one classroom, "I [love] pork," with the word love represented by a heart, was written on the blackboard, along with a drawing of a camel and the words: "Iraqi Cab Company." In another room, "Eat [expletive] Iraq" was scrawled on a wall. And in Ahmed's office, sexual organs were drawn with white chalk on the back of the door.

"They came to liberate us?" Ahmed asked, pointing out the graffiti to a reporter. "What is the point of doing this?"

Green met later today with the city's self-appointed but U.S.-recognized mayor, Taha Bedaiwi Alwani, in an effort to address concerns of city residents upset that the soldiers had occupied the school and patrolled rooftops, where they could peer down on women in nearby homes.

Alwani said residents want the soldiers to leave the central part of Fallujah and base outside the city. He accused U.S. troops of "horrible behavior" and insisted they should relocate "so that there will be no more provocation and no more

Iraqi City Simmers With New Attack; Grenade Wounds 7 Soldiers in Falluja

friction."

If the soldiers pull back, he said, he and other city leaders will urge residents to stop protesting the U.S. presence here.

While he was meeting with Green, a small group of protesters converged outside the mayor's office and unfurled banners that read, "Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kick you out" and "USA leave our country."

U.S. military officials contend the violence has been instigated by a small but fanatical group of Hussein loyalists seeking to draw U.S. forces into shooting civilians in an effort to whip up anti-American sentiment. Fallujah had long been one of Hussein's strongest bases of support. Numerous factories were situated nearby to provide steady employment for residents, many of whom served in Hussein's elite military force, the Republican Guard.

Green said his commanders have not decided whether to pull out of certain locations as requested by residents, but he said troops would stay in the city "to provide stability and safety and promote rebuilding." He said he saw no problem with his soldiers occupying a compound that used to be a police headquarters and an office for Hussein's Baath Party. "I think there's nothing improper with helping the people understand that that party and that regime are not going to be part of their future," Green said. "I don't have any qualms about the fact that our presence helps folks who lived under that intimidation and fear."

In Baghdad's wealthy Mansour district, meanwhile, people believed by witnesses to be militiamen loyal to Hussein set fire to a commercial shopping center, sending billows of black smoke into a twilight sky. The arson appeared designed to destroy what was in the shopping center's basement, behind a door in the parking garage marked ominously "Do Not Stop."

The large room contained rows of scuffed steel filing cabinets filled with internal security documents, according to a member of the Committee of Free Iraqi Prisoners. The files concerned suspected members of the outlawed Shiite-dominated Dawa organization, the Iraqi Communist Party and hundreds of people allegedly involved in a 1991 anti-government uprising following the Persian Gulf War.

Jasem Hussein, a 29-year-old committee volunteer, had sped to the burning shopping center in his dump truck with Mohammed Noori, 24, a committee member. Noori said he became suspicious when he heard that militias torched the shopping center and headed there immediately to determine what inside was of value to the former government.

The two men said they raced into the burning garage area and then into the smoke-filled room to pull out the files, which they took to the committee's offices on the banks of the Tigris River. "Please help these people unload the truck, so they can get back," shouted a senior committee member. "Every piece of paper means somebody's life."

Instantly, men grabbed dollies and wheeled the stacks of metal file drawers into the cellar of the committee offices that just a month ago served as the lavish riverfront home of a Republican Guard commander who has since disappeared.

U.S. army officers said they have intelligence that former Baath Party officials potentially implicated in the archives were planning to destroy them. The fire today seemed to support those worries.

The committee, working without computers or professional archivists, has called on international human rights organizations to help it find and sort the documents. "There are many, many, many more over there," Hussein said as he prepared to head back to the burning building. "If we could only bring in more trucks, we could get them out in time."

Wilson reported from Baghdad.

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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The Washington Times

May 2, 2003, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: NATION; Pg. A15

LENGTH: 796 words

HEADLINE: Grenade attack injures 7 U.S. troops;
Strike follows series of deadly clashes between Army, Iraqi protesters

BYLINE: By Charles J. Hanley, THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

Attackers lobbed two grenades into a U.S. Army compound yesterday, wounding seven soldiers just hours after the Americans had fired on Iraqi protesters in the street outside, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

The incident the latest in a series of clashes and deadly shootings involving U.S. troops in Fallujah came as a former head of the State Department's counterterrorism office prepared to become civilian administrator in Iraq and oversee the country's transition to democratic rule.

None of the injuries to soldiers of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Fallujah was life-threatening, Capt. Frank Rosenblatt said.

The troops inside the walled compound a former police station opened fire on men fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed to have been hit, said Capt. Rosenblatt, whose 82nd Airborne Division is handing over control of Fallujah to the Armored Cavalry. Officers said the attackers' identities were not known.

The attack, at 1 a.m. yesterday, came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing Army convoy opened fire Wednesday on anti-American demonstrators massed outside. Local hospital officials said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

American officers said that barrage was provoked when someone fired on the convoy from the crowd.

Wednesday's march was to protest earlier bloodshed Monday night, when 16 demonstrators and bystanders were killed and more than 50 wounded, according to hospital counts. In that clash, an 82nd Airborne company, whose members said they were being shot at, fired on a protest outside a school occupied by U.S. soldiers.

In Baghdad yesterday, the commander of U.S. ground forces in Iraq urged residents in a radio broadcast to help move the country forward by going back to work, stopping looting and cooperating to improve postwar security.

Lt. Gen. David McKiernan made the statement through Information Radio, the U.S.-led coalition's station, which is being broadcast across Iraq.

"I call for putting an end to all acts of sabotage and criminal acts, including plundering, looting and attacking coalition forces," he said in remarks read by an announcer in Arabic.

Information Radio has been running frequent announcements exhorting Iraqis to accept U.S. forces, and warning any foreign fighters in Iraq to leave or face arrest.

A senior U.S. official confirmed late Wednesday that Paul Bremer will take over an Iraq transition team that includes retired Army Lt. Gen. Jay Garner and Zalmay Khalilzad, the special White House envoy in the Persian Gulf region.

Mr. Bremer left the State Department, where he was an assistant to former secretaries William P. Rogers and Henry

Grenade attack injures 7 U.S. troops; Strike follows series of deadly cla

Kissinger, to join Kissinger Associates, a consulting firm. He now serves as chairman and chief executive of Marsh Crisis Consulting.

During a 23-year State Department career, Mr. Bremer served as special assistant or executive assistant to six secretaries of state. In 1999, he was appointed chairman of the National Commission on Terrorism by House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert. Newsweek first reported Mr. Bremer's selection on its Web site Wednesday.

In Fallujah yesterday, some residents said they had heard relatives of victims vow to avenge Wednesday's shootings and many in the city have declared they want the American troops to leave.

Brig. Gen. Dan Hahn, the Army V Corps chief of staff, said U.S. forces had solid intelligence that the "bad actors" in Fallujah were members of Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party who were using crowds as cover during demonstrations.

"The people in the city want to get rid of this problem. We have people in the city coming up to tell us who the bad actors are," Gen. Hahn said. "In every instance, our soldiers have shown discipline and restraint."

In the future, he said, tear gas and other riot-control measures might be used to quash violent demonstrations.

Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people located 30 miles west of Baghdad, benefited from Saddam's regime more than most Iraqi towns.

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. Many of its young men joined elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

U.S. military officials met with local religious and clan leaders Wednesday to discuss the security situation.

"We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers looking at Fallujah women, and some believed the Americans' goggles or binoculars could see through curtains or clothing.

GRAPHIC: Paul Bremer, former head of the National Commission on Terrorism, is set to oversee Iraq's the transition to democratic rule. [Photo by AP] ; A U.S. soldier examined a room full of unexploded mortar shells discovered in the central Iraqi city of Baquba yesterday. [Photo by Agence France-Presse]

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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Al-Bawaba

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May 1, 2003 Thursday

LENGTH: 203 words

HEADLINE: US compound attacked in Fallujah, seven soldiers wounded

BYLINE: By Al-Bawaba Reporters

BODY:

Attackers lobbed two grenades over a wall and into a compound of U.S. troops in Fallujah on Thursday, wounding seven soldiers just hours after they had opened fire on anti-American protesters, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

None of the injuries to soldiers of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment was life-threatening, said Capt. Frank Rosenblatt, 26, of Hampton, Va.

According to AP, The troops inside the former police station opened fire on men seen fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed hit, said Rosenblatt.

The 1 a.m. attack Thursday came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing Army convoy opened fire Wednesday on anti-American demonstrators massed outside, killing three and wounding 18, according to hospital officials.

U.S. military officials met Wednesday with local religious and clan leaders on the security situation in the town.

"We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

Al-Alwani and other Iraqis at the meeting also asked that U.S. troops be redeployed outside the city center. (Albawaba.com)

LOAD-DATE: June 4, 2003

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Al-Alwani and other Iraqis at the meeting also asked that U.S. troops be redeployed outside the city center. (Albawaba.com)

LOAD-DATE: May 7, 2004

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May 1, 2003, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 896 words

HEADLINE: More protesters fall to U.S. guns in Fallujah; commander says Americans will remain

BYLINE: By CHARLES J. HANLEY, AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

American troops again fired on anti-U.S. protesters in Fallujah's streets Wednesday and said they won't give up their foothold in the one-time Baath Party bastion. At least two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded, hospital officials reported.

In a bloodier episode Monday night, 15 protesters and bystanders were killed, and at least 50 wounded, officials said. In both cases, U.S. officers - and the U.S. Central Command - said their soldiers were fired on first from among the crowds.

But Iraqis denied it, and no weapons or suspects have been produced.

After Wednesday's shootings, a U.S. Army colonel said his forces will remain here "to help the city stabilize." Residents repeatedly said they want the Americans at least to withdraw to the city's outskirts.

Some were threatening. "Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kick you out," read an angry banner in English unfurled in the faces of GIs on guard.

This week's Fallujah bloodshed, in large part the result of clashes between a foreign force and a traditional Muslim society, underscores the military's challenge in a land where many say they will resist any foreign hand that tries to control them.

The resistance may be especially sharp in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 30 miles west of Baghdad, because it benefited particularly from Saddam Hussein's Baath regime, toppled last month by the U.S.-led coalition.

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. The city sent many of its young men to elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

An indication of the city's fealty to the old regime: Air Force Maj. Gen. Gene Renuart, Central Command's operations director, said Monday's demonstration was apparently in celebration of Saddam's birthday.

Wednesday's violence occurred at the climax of a march by 1,000 men protesting the earlier shootings, which took place at a Fallujah school taken over for a time by a company of the 82nd Airborne Division.

The marchers, mostly young men in sandals and ankle-length dishdashas, halted on Fallujah's main avenue before a former police compound used as an 82nd Airborne command post.

A flier they distributed denounced Monday night's shootings, in which children were among the dead, as a "vicious and unprecedented crime," and demanded punishment for those responsible.

More protesters fall to U.S. guns in Fallujah; commander says Americans

Overhead in the hot, clear skies, Army Apache helicopters circled, barely skimming the blue tile-topped minarets of Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim city known for its many mosques.

Within minutes, the protesters were throwing stones – and then shoes – some 30 yards toward U.S. soldiers hunkered down behind sandbags in the compound. A six-vehicle U.S. Army convoy then ventured past, between the protesters and the U.S. compound.

Suddenly gunfire erupted, though it wasn't clear from where. From atop one vehicle, a soldier was firing a mounted machine gun toward the crowd while ducking down.

Other automatic fire came from paratroopers inside the compound. The marchers, panicked, dropped their banners and fled for the safety of side streets. Some stopped to pick up fallen friends.

It lasted less than a minute. Doctors at Fallujah Hospital later said two men had died of head wounds. Local residents said a third man, who had not been taken to the hospital, also was killed. As is the Muslim custom, three burials took place on Wednesday.

American officers said someone in the crowd fired a weapon at the convoy.

"There was gunfire by at least one person," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green, a squadron commander in the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, whose troops were in Fallujah to take control from the 82nd Airborne.

Iraqi witnesses denied there was any gunfire from the crowd. "The Americans inside the compound just fired randomly," Khazal Abdul Hadi, 44, a marcher wounded in the leg, said from his hospital bed.

After Monday night's bloodshed, too, officers said the American barrage was justified return fire. "Everything was within the rules of engagement," said Capt. Jeff Wilbur, an 82nd Airborne civil affairs officer. "There'll be no formal investigation."

Local leaders were unsatisfied. "We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

At a meeting with U.S. officers, al-Alwani and local religious and clan leaders also asked that troops be redeployed outside the city center. In one move, the paratrooper company has left the disputed school.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers who gaze on Fallujah women and make seemingly rude comments, who they think mock the way Iraqis dress, and whose goggles or binoculars have some locals convinced they are "seeing" through curtains or clothing.

Green said the U.S. troops were here to help restore security in the aftermath of war. At the meeting, "we provided them with some guidance about what we intend to do to help the city stabilize," he said.

The mayor told reporters it would be "difficult" for the Americans to leave, but he said most residents oppose their presence.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces," he said, "and many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions."

GRAPHIC: AP Photos XDG101-106,110,113,114,116

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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May 1, 2003, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 775 words

BODY:

The 1 a.m. attack Thursday came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing Army convoy opened fire Wednesday on anti-American demonstrators massed outside, killing two and wounding 18, according to hospital officials.

American officers said that barrage was provoked when someone fired on the convoy from the crowd.

Wednesday's march was to protest earlier bloodshed on Monday night, when 16 demonstrators and bystanders were killed and more than 50 wounded, according to hospital counts. That took place when an 82nd Airborne company, whose members said they were being shot at, fired on a protest outside a school occupied by the U.S. soldiers.

Residents of Fallujah said they had heard relatives of victims vow to avenge Wednesday's shootings.

People in Fallujah generally have said they want the American troops to leave the city, 30 miles west of Baghdad.

Resistance to American troops may be especially sharp in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people, because it benefited particularly from Saddam Hussein's Baath regime, toppled last month by the U.S.-led coalition.

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. The city sent many of its young men to elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

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U.S. military officials met Wednesday with local religious and clan leaders on the security situation in the town.

"We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

Al-Alwani and other Iraqis at the meeting also asked that U.S. troops be redeployed outside the city center. A U.S. paratrooper company has already left the school where they were staying that was the focus of Monday's protest.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers who gaze on Fallujah women, and some believed the Americans' goggles or binoculars can "see" through curtains or clothing.

In other developments around Iraq, heavily armed troops of the 4th Infantry Division raided a house late Wednesday in Tikrit, Saddam's hometown, and arrested a local Baath Party official accused of trying to run a "shadow regime" opposing coalition forces.

U.S. troops refused to release the name of the official, citing security.

Five Bradley Fighting Vehicles surrounded the two-story villa in a neighborhood formerly reserved for Baath Party members. One of the Bradleys slammed through a 10-foot wall surrounding the compound. About 40 infantrymen of the 1st Battalion, 8th Infantry Regiment swarmed through the hole, fanning across the lawn and breaking down the wooden front door.

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Inside, the soldiers found three men – the suspect and his two sons – five women and four children. The three men were led from the house blindfolded and with their hands bound behind their backs.

Col. Don Campbell, commander of the 1st Brigade of the 4th Infantry Division, said the suspect was "a prominent Baath Party member whom we suspect of trying to run a shadow regime."

In Baghdad, the U.S.-led team charged with rebuilding Iraq's civil society has been screening government employees trying to return to work.

The 150 people who showed up at the Planning Ministry on Wednesday faced tough scrutiny from the U.S. Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance, which is struggling to weed out Baath Party officials and potential provocateurs from the ranks of a reconfigured civil service.

Charles Heatly, a spokesman for the reconstruction office, said U.S. and British officials working with Iraqis had met with bureaucrats at most of the country's 23 ministries that operated under Saddam's regime. Many were eager to return to work.

As plans for the new government proceeded apace, three top opposition leaders met in Baghdad to discuss how they would work together.

Ahmad Chalabi of the Iraqi National Congress, Massoud Barzani of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and Jalal Talabani of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan began a series of meetings Wednesday night, according to the INC's London office. It offered no details, citing security, but said the meetings would continue Thursday.

Chalabi is a controversial figure, and many Iraqis are deeply suspicious of him because he lived outside the country for years and did not suffer alongside them under Saddam.

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May 1, 2003, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 1057 words

BODY:

Grenade attack wounds seven U.S. soldiers in Iraq as Bush readies speech declaring major combat over

Eds: Inserts 29th graf, 'A key ...,' to UPDATE with Basra refinery started up; moves up Rumeila shooting incident. No pickup.

AP Photos XDG101-106,110,113-114,116, NYWD103, LXF116

AP Graphic FALLUJAH FOCUS

By CHARLES J. HANLEY
AP Special Correspondent

FALLUJAH, Iraq (AP) – Attackers lobbed two grenades into a U.S. Army compound Thursday, wounding seven soldiers just hours after the Americans had fired on Iraqi protesters in the street outside, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

The incident – the latest in a series of clashes and deadly shootings involving U.S. troops in Fallujah – came as President Bush prepared to address to the American public from a homeward-bound aircraft carrier, declaring that major combat in Iraq is finished.

None of the injuries to soldiers of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Fallujah was life-threatening, said Capt. Frank Rosenblatt.

The troops inside the walled compound – a former police station – opened fire on men fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed hit, said Rosenblatt, whose 82nd Airborne Division is handing over control of Fallujah to the Armored Cavalry. Officers said the attackers' identities were unknown.

The attack, at 1 a.m. Thursday, came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing Army convoy opened fire Wednesday on anti-American demonstrators massed outside. Local hospital officials said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

American officers said that barrage was provoked when someone fired on the convoy from the crowd.

Wednesday's march was to protest earlier bloodshed Monday night, when 16 demonstrators and bystanders were killed and more than 50 wounded, according to hospital counts. In that clash, an 82nd Airborne company, whose members said they were being shot at, fired on a protest outside a school occupied by U.S. soldiers.

Some Fallujah residents said they had heard relatives of victims vow to avenge Wednesday's shootings – and many in the city have declared they want the American troops to leave.

Brig. Gen. Dan Hahn, the Army V Corps chief of staff, said U.S. forces had solid intelligence that the "bad actors" in

The Associated Press May 1, 2003, Thursday, BC cycle

Fallujah were members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party who were using crowds as cover during demonstrations.

"The people in the city want to get rid of this problem. We have people in the city coming up to tell us who the bad actors are," Hahn said. "In every instance, our soldiers have shown discipline and restraint."

In the future, he said, tear gas and other riot control measure might be used to quash violent demonstrations.

Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 30 miles west of Baghdad, benefited more than most Iraqi towns from Saddam's regime.

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"We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers looking at Fallujah women, and some believed the Americans' goggles or binoculars could "see" through curtains or clothing.

Despite the clashes in Fallujah, U.S. military commanders in Baghdad said the overall situation in Iraq is improving.

"If you look at the country as a whole, it is stable," said Hahn. However, he said the massive amount of arms and ammunition being uncovered daily across Iraq posed a major problem.

"The entire country is almost like an ammunitions and weapons dump. And they've placed them in places you would not expect," he said. "There are weapons here from every country in the world that makes weapons."

In the northern city of Mosul, 153 arms caches had already been found, one containing 1.2 million mortar rounds and 65,000 artillery shells. Some 150 arms and ammunition sites have been discovered in Baghdad, officials said.

In a radio broadcast Thursday, the commander of U.S. ground forces in Iraq urged citizens to help move the country forward by going back to work, stopping looting and cooperating to improve postwar security.

Lt. Gen. David McKiernan made the statement through Information Radio, the U.S.-led coalition's station, which is being broadcast across Iraq.

"I call for putting an end to all acts of sabotage and criminal acts including plundering, looting and attacking coalition forces," he said in remarks read by an announcer in Arabic.

Information Radio has been running frequent announcements exhorting Iraqis to accept U.S. forces, and warning any foreign fighters in Iraq to leave or face arrest.

McKiernan also said that any checkpoints not supervised by coalition forces are unauthorized.

In other developments:

-A government official in Jordan said customs officers searching travelers leaving Iraq have confiscated dozens of artworks and archaeological items that may have been stolen from the National Museum in Baghdad and Saddam's palaces.

-A group of civil engineers were shot at while working in a gas-oil separation plant in southern Iraq's Rumeila oil fields, according to the U.S. Central Command. No injuries were reported; Central Command did not give the nationality of the engineers or any details about the assailants.

-A key oil refinery was restarted near Basra, Iraq's second-largest city. Southern Iraq had been running out of gasoline and propane; the plant will produce around 28,000 barrels a day of refined product, according to John Forslund of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

-Britain will establish its first diplomatic presence in Iraq for 12 years when a team of officials travels to Baghdad this weekend, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said Thursday. The four-member diplomatic mission will set up an office to prepare for reopening an embassy once a new government is in place. The British embassy in Baghdad closed on Jan. 12 1991, four days before Operation Desert Storm launched the Gulf War

The Associated Press May 1, 2003, Thursday, BC cycle

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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May 1, 2003, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 829 words

HEADLINE: U.S. troops, conservative religion a fiery combination in heartland town

BYLINE: By CHARLES J. HANLEY, AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

A lewd drawing and trashed religious texts, women in black and calls to prayer, gunfire and grenades. The mix of young American troops and conservative religion has reached its most explosive level here in Iraq's Sunni Muslim heartland.

It erupted again in the early morning darkness Thursday. Someone lobbed two grenades over the back wall of a compound held by troopers of the Army's 3rd U.S. Armored Cavalry Regiment. Seven soldiers suffered wounds, none life-threatening.

It was revenge, people around town whispered, for what the 3rd ACR men had done late Wednesday morning, when they fired on hundreds of stone-throwing anti-U.S. marchers in front of their compound, a former combined police station and Baath Party headquarters on Fallujah's main street. Two protesters died and 18 were wounded.

That march, in turn, was a response to even worse bloodshed two nights before. Soldiers from the 82nd Airborne Division, having taken over a school, fired on anti-American protesters demanding it back for its pupils. Dozens were hit and 16 died, including bystanders.

In both cases, U.S. officers said their men were fired on first from the crowds, something Iraqis denied. No Americans were hurt.

At a time when President Bush is declaring major combat over in Iraq, troops in Fallujah may feel otherwise. "No way," said the 3rd ACR's Sgt. 1st Class Kirk Lamb, 33, of Colorado Springs, Colo. "We were shot at on patrol." Other patrols are routinely pelted with rocks.

This city of 200,000 people 30 miles west of Baghdad, a town of slender minarets and dun-colored homes beside a sparkling stretch of the Euphrates River, typifies some of the toughest challenges facing the Americans trying to control an alien land with an army built for war, not occupation.

Washington's hope that U.S. troops would be welcomed as "liberators" throughout Iraq fades like a mirage in the heat and dust of the streets of Fallujah, a stronghold of Saddam Hussein's Sunni-dominated Baath Party regime.

Even a leader of the temporary city administration speaks harshly in the wake of Monday night's killings at the school.

"After the massacre, we don't believe the Americans came to free us, but to occupy and take our wealth and kill us," said Mohammed Farhan, who is in charge of city security.

U.S. troops, conservative religion a fiery combination in heartland town

American officers say they're here – as a 3rd ACR squadron commander, Lt. Col. Tobin Green, put it – to "secure and stabilize" the city.

But they got off to a bad start, according to the locals, who say Fallujah, widely known as a conservative, religious city, was surrendered last month on condition it not be occupied for more than two days by U.S. troops. The 82nd Airborne came to town a week ago and is now turning Fallujah over to the 3rd ACR.

When they arrived, the Americans brought irritants petty and large. Their speeding patrols and convoys make thoroughfares dangerous. Their checkpoints delay and invade privacy. Iraqis claim GIs they encounter mock their clothing and customs.

The greatest sensitivity involves women. Iraqis resent soldiers looking at their women, almost all of whom are draped while in public in head-to-toe abayas, and believe they're exchanging crude remarks as women pass by.

The most unusual complaint is that GIs' binoculars, goggles, or night-vision scopes are being used to look into houses, or even through curtains or clothing.

American officers contend only a minority of Fallujah's people feel this animosity toward their troops, and Baathists are fomenting clashes. But reporters found a universal desire for the Americans to at least withdraw to the city's outskirts.

In one concession, U.S. commanders gave up the embattled school. Its headmaster, returning, was disgusted to find desks smashed, supply rooms ransacked, textbooks about the Quran, Islam's holy book, dumped on the floor, and worse: A pornographic drawing had been chalked on an office door.

It was not clear whether the damage was done by the U.S. soldiers or by looters, although Fallujah's people insisted it was the Americans.

"You come as liberators. That's fine. But why did you do this?" Mohamed Ahmed Zuwaid, 50, asked an American visitor.

American colonels and local clergymen, tribal sheiks and others met on Wednesday and Thursday to try to reduce tensions. The acting mayor, **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, said the U.S. officers agreed to stay away from mosques "and other sensitive areas."

As for withdrawing from their central Fallujah compound, the new focus of protest, al-Alwani said the Americans had referred the question up the chain of command. But he also reported, "The colonel said, 'We'll make our own decisions and station our people anywhere.'"

Green, separately, said the issue wasn't discussed.

One sheik, Daham Mehdi Farhan, said people hope Fallujah's explosive mix can be defused. "The Americans said they came as liberators," he said. "As liberators, they should be guided by wisdom, not by force."

GRAPHIC: AP Photos XAZ106-107,BAG103

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May 1, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

LENGTH: 891 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Troops Fire on Iraq Protesters Again

BYLINE: CHARLES J. HANLEY; AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

American troops again fired on anti-U.S. protesters in Fallujah's streets Wednesday and said they won't give up their foothold in the one-time Baath Party bastion. At least two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded, hospital officials reported.

In a bloodier episode Monday night, 15 protesters and bystanders were killed, and at least 50 wounded, officials said. In both cases, U.S. officers – and the U.S. Central Command – said their soldiers were fired on first from among the crowds.

But Iraqis denied it, and no weapons or suspects have been produced.

After Wednesday's shootings, a U.S. Army colonel said his forces will remain here "to help the city stabilize." Residents repeatedly said they want the Americans at least to withdraw to the city's outskirts.

Some were threatening. "Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kick you out," read an angry banner in English unfurled in the faces of GIs on guard.

This week's Fallujah bloodshed, in large part the result of clashes between a foreign force and a traditional Muslim society, underscores the military's challenge in a land where many say they will resist any foreign hand that tries to control them.

The resistance may be especially sharp in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 30 miles west of Baghdad, because it benefited particularly from Saddam Hussein's Baath regime, toppled last month by the U.S.-led coalition.

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. The city sent many of its young men to elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

An indication of the city's fealty to the old regime: Air Force Maj. Gen. Gene Renuart, Central Command's operations director, said Monday's demonstration was apparently in celebration of Saddam's birthday.

Wednesday's violence occurred at the climax of a march by 1,000 men protesting the earlier shootings, which took place at a Fallujah school taken over for a time by a company of the 82nd Airborne Division.

The marchers, mostly young men in sandals and ankle-length dishdashas, halted on Fallujah's main avenue before a former police compound used as an 82nd Airborne command post.

A flier they distributed denounced Monday night's shootings, in which children were among the dead, as a "vicious and unprecedented crime," and demanded punishment for those responsible.

U.S. Troops Fire on Iraq Protesters Again Associated Press Online May 1,

Overhead in the hot, clear skies, Army Apache helicopters circled, barely skimming the blue tile-topped minarets of Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim city known for its many mosques.

Within minutes, the protesters were throwing stones – and then shoes – some 30 yards toward U.S. soldiers hunkered down behind sandbags in the compound. A six-vehicle U.S. Army convoy then ventured past, between the protesters and the U.S. compound.

Suddenly gunfire erupted, though it wasn't clear from where. From atop one vehicle, a soldier was firing a mounted machine gun toward the crowd while ducking down.

Other automatic fire came from paratroopers inside the compound. The marchers, panicked, dropped their banners and fled for the safety of side streets. Some stopped to pick up fallen friends.

It lasted less than a minute. Doctors at Fallujah Hospital later said two men had died of head wounds. Local residents said a third man, who had not been taken to the hospital, also was killed. As is the Muslim custom, three burials took place on Wednesday.

American officers said someone in the crowd fired a weapon at the convoy.

"There was gunfire by at least one person," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green, a squadron commander in the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, whose troops were in Fallujah to take control from the 82nd Airborne.

Iraqi witnesses denied there was any gunfire from the crowd. "The Americans inside the compound just fired randomly," Khazal Abdul Hadi, 44, a marcher wounded in the leg, said from his hospital bed.

After Monday night's bloodshed, too, officers said the American barrage was justified return fire. "Everything was within the rules of engagement," said Capt. Jeff Wilbur, an 82nd Airborne civil affairs officer. "There'll be no formal investigation."

Local leaders were unsatisfied. "We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

At a meeting with U.S. officers, al-Alwani and local religious and clan leaders also asked that troops be redeployed outside the city center. In one move, the paratrooper company has left the disputed school.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers who gaze on Fallujah women and make seemingly rude comments, who they think mock the way Iraqis dress, and whose goggles or binoculars have some locals convinced they are "seeing" through curtains or clothing.

Green said the U.S. troops were here to help restore security in the aftermath of war. At the meeting, "we provided them with some guidance about what we intend to do to help the city stabilize," he said.

The mayor told reporters it would be "difficult" for the Americans to leave, but he said most residents oppose their presence.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces," he said, "and many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions."

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May 1, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

LENGTH: 825 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Troops, Religion a Fiery Mix in Iraq

BYLINE: CHARLES J. HANLEY; AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

A lewd drawing and trashed religious texts, women in black and calls to prayer, gunfire and grenades. The mix of young American troops and conservative religion has reached its most explosive level here in Iraq's Sunni Muslim heartland.

It erupted again in the early morning darkness Thursday. Someone lobbed two grenades over the back wall of a compound held by troopers of the Army's 3rd U.S. Armored Cavalry Regiment. Seven soldiers suffered wounds, none life-threatening.

It was revenge, people around town whispered, for what the 3rd ACR men had done late Wednesday morning, when they fired on hundreds of stone-throwing anti-U.S. marchers in front of their compound, a former combined police station and Baath Party headquarters on Fallujah's main street. Two protesters died and 18 were wounded.

That march, in turn, was a response to even worse bloodshed two nights before. Soldiers from the 82nd Airborne Division, having taken over a school, fired on anti-American protesters demanding it back for its pupils. Dozens were hit and 16 died, including bystanders.

In both cases, U.S. officers said their men were fired on first from the crowds, something Iraqis denied. No Americans were hurt.

At a time when President Bush is declaring major combat over in Iraq, troops in Fallujah may feel otherwise. "No way," said the 3rd ACR's Sgt. 1st Class Kirk Lamb, 33, of Colorado Springs, Colo. "We were shot at on patrol." Other patrols are routinely pelted with rocks.

This city of 200,000 people 30 miles west of Baghdad, a town of slender minarets and dun-colored homes beside a sparkling stretch of the Euphrates River, typifies some of the toughest challenges facing the Americans trying to control an alien land with an army built for war, not occupation.

Washington's hope that U.S. troops would be welcomed as "liberators" throughout Iraq fades like a mirage in the heat and dust of the streets of Fallujah, a stronghold of Saddam Hussein's Sunni-dominated Baath Party regime.

Even a leader of the temporary city administration speaks harshly in the wake of Monday night's killings at the school.

"After the massacre, we don't believe the Americans came to free us, but to occupy and take our wealth and kill us," said Mohammed Farhan, who is in charge of city security.

American officers say they're here – as a 3rd ACR squadron commander, Lt. Col. Tobin Green, put it – to "secure and

U.S. Troops, Religion a Fiery Mix in Iraq Associated Press Online May 1,

stabilize" the city.

But they got off to a bad start, according to the locals, who say Fallujah, widely known as a conservative, religious city, was surrendered last month on condition it not be occupied for more than two days by U.S. troops. The 82nd Airborne came to town a week ago and is now turning Fallujah over to the 3rd ACR.

When they arrived, the Americans brought irritants petty and large. Their speeding patrols and convoys make thoroughfares dangerous. Their checkpoints delay and invade privacy. Iraqis claim GIs they encounter mock their clothing and customs.

The greatest sensitivity involves women. Iraqis resent soldiers looking at their women, almost all of whom are draped while in public in head-to-toe abayas, and believe they're exchanging crude remarks as women pass by.

The most unusual complaint is that GIs' binoculars, goggles, or night-vision scopes are being used to look into houses, or even through curtains or clothing.

American officers contend only a minority of Fallujah's people feel this animosity toward their troops, and Baathists are fomenting clashes. But reporters found a universal desire for the Americans to at least withdraw to the city's outskirts.

In one concession, U.S. commanders gave up the embattled school. Its headmaster, returning, was disgusted to find desks smashed, supply rooms ransacked, textbooks about the Quran, Islam's holy book, dumped on the floor, and worse: A pornographic drawing had been chalked on an office door.

It was not clear whether the damage was done by the U.S. soldiers or by looters, although Fallujah's people insisted it was the Americans.

"You come as liberators. That's fine. But why did you do this?" Mohamed Ahmed Zuwaid, 50, asked an American visitor.

American colonels and local clergymen, tribal sheiks and others met on Wednesday and Thursday to try to reduce tensions. The acting mayor, **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, said the U.S. officers agreed to stay away from mosques "and other sensitive areas."

As for withdrawing from their central Fallujah compound, the new focus of protest, al-Alwani said the Americans had referred the question up the chain of command. But he also reported, "The colonel said, 'We'll make our own decisions and station our people anywhere.'"

Green, separately, said the issue wasn't discussed.

One sheik, Daham Mehdi Farhan, said people hope Fallujah's explosive mix can be defused. "The Americans said they came as liberators," he said. "As liberators, they should be guided by wisdom, not by force."

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May 1, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

LENGTH: 986 words

HEADLINE: Iraq Grenade Attack Hurts 7 U.S. Soldiers

BYLINE: CHARLES J. HANLEY; AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

Attackers lobbed two grenades into a U.S. Army compound Thursday, wounding seven soldiers just hours after the Americans had fired on Iraqi protesters in the street outside, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

The incident – the latest in a series of clashes and deadly shootings involving U.S. troops in Fallujah – came as President Bush prepared to address to the American public from a homeward-bound aircraft carrier, declaring that major combat in Iraq is finished.

None of the injuries to soldiers of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Fallujah was life-threatening, said Capt. Frank Rosenblatt.

The troops inside the walled compound – a former police station – opened fire on men fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed hit, said Rosenblatt, whose 82nd Airborne Division is handing over control of Fallujah to the Armored Cavalry. Officers said the attackers' identities were unknown.

The attack, at 1 a.m. Thursday, came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing Army convoy opened fire Wednesday on anti-American demonstrators massed outside. Local hospital officials said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

American officers said that barrage was provoked when someone fired on the convoy from the crowd.

Wednesday's march was to protest earlier bloodshed Monday night, when 16 demonstrators and bystanders were killed and more than 50 wounded, according to hospital counts. In that clash, an 82nd Airborne company, whose members said they were being shot at, fired on a protest outside a school occupied by U.S. soldiers.

Some Fallujah residents said they had heard relatives of victims vow to avenge Wednesday's shootings – and many in the city have declared they want the American troops to leave.

Brig. Gen. Dan Hahn, the Army V Corps chief of staff, said U.S. forces had solid intelligence that the "bad actors" in Fallujah were members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party who were using crowds as cover during demonstrations.

"The people in the city want to get rid of this problem. We have people in the city coming up to tell us who the bad actors are," Hahn said. "In every instance, our soldiers have shown discipline and restraint."

In the future, he said, tear gas and other riot control measure might be used to quash violent demonstrations.

Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 30 miles west of Baghdad, benefited more than most Iraqi towns from Saddam's regime.

Iraq Grenade Attack Hurts 7 U.S. Soldiers Associated Press Online May 1,

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. Many of its young men joined elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

U.S. military officials met Wednesday with local religious and clan leaders on the security situation.

"We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers looking at Fallujah women, and some believed the Americans' goggles or binoculars could "see" through curtains or clothing.

Despite the clashes in Fallujah, U.S. military commanders in Baghdad said the overall situation in Iraq is improving.

"If you look at the country as a whole, it is stable," said Hahn. However, he said the massive amount of arms and ammunition being uncovered daily across Iraq posed a major problem.

"The entire country is almost like an ammunitions and weapons dump. And they've placed them in places you would not expect," he said. "There are weapons here from every country in the world that makes weapons."

In the northern city of Mosul, 153 arms caches had already been found, one containing 1.2 million mortar rounds and 65,000 artillery shells. Some 150 arms and ammunition sites have been discovered in Baghdad, officials said.

In a radio broadcast Thursday, the commander of U.S. ground forces in Iraq urged citizens to help move the country forward by going back to work, stopping looting and cooperating to improve postwar security.

Lt. Gen. David McKiernan made the statement through Information Radio, the U.S.-led coalition's station, which is being broadcast across Iraq.

"I call for putting an end to all acts of sabotage and criminal acts including plundering, looting and attacking coalition forces," he said in remarks read by an announcer in Arabic.

Information Radio has been running frequent announcements exhorting Iraqis to accept U.S. forces, and warning any foreign fighters in Iraq to leave or face arrest.

McKiernan also said that any checkpoints not supervised by coalition forces are unauthorized.

In other developments:

-A government official in Jordan said customs officers searching travelers leaving Iraq have confiscated dozens of artworks and archaeological items that may have been stolen from the National Museum in Baghdad and Saddam's palaces.

-A group of civil engineers were shot at while working in a gas-oil separation plant in southern Iraq's Rumeila oil fields, according to the U.S. Central Command. No injuries were reported; Central Command did not give the nationality of the engineers or any details about the assailants.

-A key oil refinery was restarted near Basra, Iraq's second-largest city. Southern Iraq had been running out of gasoline and propane; the plant will produce around 28,000 barrels a day of refined product, according to John Forslund of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

-Britain will establish its first diplomatic presence in Iraq for 12 years when a team of officials travels to Baghdad this weekend, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said Thursday. The four-member diplomatic mission will set up an office to prepare for reopening an embassy once a new government is in place. The British embassy in Baghdad closed on Jan. 12 1991, four days before Operation Desert Storm launched the Gulf War

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May 1, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

DISTRIBUTION: Europe; Britian; Scandinavia; Middle East; Africa; India; Asia; England

LENGTH: 880 words

HEADLINE: More protesters fall to U.S. guns in Fallujah; commander says troops will remain

BYLINE: CHARLES J. HANLEY; AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

American troops, unwanted in this conservative "city of mosques," shot down more anti-U.S. protesters in Fallujah's streets and said they won't give up their foothold in the onetime Baath Party bastion.

At least two were killed and 18 wounded in Wednesday's shootings, hospital officials reported.

In a bloodier episode Monday night, 15 protesters and bystanders were killed, and at least 50 wounded, the officials said. In both cases, U.S. officers said their men were fired on first from among the crowds. But Iraqis denied it, and no weapons or suspects have been produced.

After Wednesday's shootings, a U.S. Army colonel said his forces will remain here "to help the city stabilize." Residents repeatedly told reporters, however, that they want the Americans at least to withdraw to the city's outskirts.

"Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kick you out," read an angry banner in English unfurled in the faces of GIs on guard in the central city.

This week's Fallujah bloodshed, in large part the result of cultural clashes between a foreign occupation force and a traditional Muslim society, underscores the challenge the U.S. military faces in a land whose people say they will resist a heavy foreign hand trying to control them.

The resistance may be especially sharp in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 50 kilometers (30 miles) west of Baghdad, because it benefited particularly – through its businessmen and military and police officers – from President Saddam Hussein's Baath regime, toppled last month by the U.S.-British invasion force.

Wednesday's violence occurred at the climax of a march by 1,000 men protesting the earlier shootings, which took place at a Fallujah school taken over by a company of the 82nd Airborne Division.

The marchers, mostly young men in sandals and ankle-length dishdashas, halted on Fallujah's main avenue before a former police compound used as an 82nd Airborne command post.

A flyer they distributed denounced Monday night's shootings, in which children were among the dead, as a "vicious and unprecedented crime," and demanded punishment for those responsible. Overhead in the hot, clear skies, Army Apache helicopters circled, barely skimming the blue tile-topped minarets of Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim city known for its many mosques.

More protesters fall to U.S. guns in Fallujah; commander says troops wil

Within minutes, the protesters were throwing stones – and then shoes – some 30 meters (yards) toward U.S. soldiers hunkered down behind sandbags in the compound. A six-vehicle U.S. Army convoy then ventured past, between the protesters and the U.S. compound.

Suddenly gunfire erupted, though it wasn't clear from where. From atop one vehicle, a soldier was firing a mounted machine gun toward the crowd while ducking down, firing aimlessly.

Other automatic fire came from paratroopers inside the compound. The marchers, panicked, dropped their banners and fled for the safety of side streets. Some stopped to pick up fallen friends.

It lasted less than a minute. Doctors at Fallujah Hospital later said two men had died of head wounds. Local residents said a third man, who apparently had not been taken to the hospital, also was killed. As is the Muslim custom, three burials took place on Wednesday.

American officers said someone in the crowd had fired a weapon at the convoy.

"There was gunfire by at least one person," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green, a squadron commander in the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, whose troops were in Fallujah to take control from the 82nd Airborne.

Asked whether fire from a single weapon justified firing into hundreds of demonstrators, Green said the question "may underestimate the complexity of violence." He did not elaborate.

Iraqi witnesses denied there was any gunfire from the crowd. "The Americans inside the compound just fired randomly," Khazal Abdul Hadi, 44, a marcher wounded in the leg, said from his hospital bed.

After Monday night's bloodshed, too, officers said the American barrage was justified return fire. "Everything was within the rules of engagement," said Capt. Jeff Wilbur, an 82nd Airborne civil affairs officer. "There'll be no formal investigation."

Local leaders were unsatisfied. "We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized "mayor" of Fallujah.

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"Many people believe these are occupying forces," he said, "and many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions."

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May 1, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

DISTRIBUTION: Europe; Britian; Scandinavia; Middle East; Africa; India; Asia; England

LENGTH: 986 words

HEADLINE: Grenade attack wounds seven U.S. soldiers in Iraq as Bush readies speech declaring major combat over

BYLINE: CHARLES J. HANLEY; AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

Attackers lobbed two grenades into a U.S. Army compound Thursday, wounding seven soldiers just hours after the Americans had fired on Iraqi protesters in the street outside, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

The incident – the latest in a series of clashes and deadly shootings involving U.S. troops in Fallujah – came as U.S. President George W. Bush prepared to address to the American public from a homeward-bound aircraft carrier, declaring that major combat in Iraq is finished.

None of the injuries to soldiers in Fallujah was life-threatening, said U.S. Capt. Frank Rosenblatt.

The troops inside the walled compound – a former police station – opened fire on men fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed hit, said Rosenblatt, whose U.S. Army unit is handing over control of Fallujah to an armored cavalry. Officers said the attackers' identities were unknown.

The attack, at 1 a.m. Thursday, came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing U.S. Army convoy opened fire Wednesday on anti-American demonstrators massed outside. Local hospital officials said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

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Brig. Gen. Dan Hahn, the U.S. Army V Corps chief of staff, said U.S. forces had solid intelligence that the "bad actors" in Fallujah were members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party who were using crowds as cover during demonstrations.

"The people in the city want to get rid of this problem. We have people in the city coming up to tell us who the bad actors are," Hahn said. "In every instance, our soldiers have shown discipline and restraint."

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SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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LENGTH: 820 words

HEADLINE: U.S. troops, conservative religion a fiery combination in heartland town

BYLINE: CHARLES J. HANLEY; AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

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U.S. troops, conservative religion a fiery combination in heartland town

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But they got off to a bad start, according to the locals, who say Fallujah, widely known as a conservative, religious city, was surrendered last month on condition it not be occupied for more than two days by U.S. troops. The U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne came to town a week ago and is now turning Fallujah over to the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment.

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In one concession, U.S. commanders gave up the embattled school. Its headmaster, returning, was disgusted to find desks smashed, supply rooms ransacked, textbooks about the Quran, Islam's holy book, dumped on the floor, and worse: A pornographic drawing had been chalked on an office door.

It was not clear whether the damage was done by the U.S. soldiers or by looters, although Fallujah's people insisted it was the Americans.

"You come as liberators. That's fine. But why did you do this?" Mohamed Ahmed Zuwaid, 50, asked an American visitor.

American colonels and local clergymen, tribal sheiks and others met on Wednesday and Thursday to try to reduce tensions. The acting mayor, **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, said the U.S. officers agreed to stay away from mosques "and other sensitive areas."

As for withdrawing from their central Fallujah compound, the new focus of protest, al-Alwani said the Americans had referred the question up the chain of command. But he also reported, "The colonel said, 'We'll make our own decisions and station our people anywhere.'"

Green, separately, said the issue wasn't discussed.

One sheik, Daham Mehdi Farhan, said people hope Fallujah's explosive mix can be defused. "The Americans said they came as liberators," he said. "As liberators, they should be guided by wisdom, not by force."

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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Belfast News Letter (Northern Ireland)

May 1, 2003, Thursday

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 427 words

HEADLINE: TENSIONS FOLLOW A SECOND DAY OF SHOOTINGS

BYLINE: CHARLES HANLEY

HIGHLIGHT:

VICTIM: an Iraqi man lies dead in the street, while others run for safety as US troops fire on demonstrators in Fallujah

BODY:

US TROOPS opened fire on anti-American demonstrators for the second time in two days yesterday morning during a march to protest against the previous shooting.

The mayor of Fallujah said two people were killed and 14 wounded.

The gunfire came less than 48 hours after a shooting during a demonstration on Monday night that doctors said killed 13 Iraqis.

About 1,000 residents marched down Fallujah's main street and stopped in front of a battalion headquarters of the US Army's 82nd Airborne Division. They were carrying signs condemning Monday night's shooting.

When some protesters started throwing rocks and shoes at the US-held compound – a former office of Saddam Hussein's ruling Baath Party – troops in a passing convoy opened fire at about 10:30 am. Troops inside the compound also started shooting.

The demonstrators scattered, leaving two of their number on the ground. Others came back and picked up the wounded and carried them away.

US Captain Jeff Wilbur, a civil affairs officer with the 1st Battalion's 325 Airborne regiment, said US forces were investigating whether the protestors had fired on troops.

He said it was not clear whether any Americans were hurt in the incident.

As the convoy passed, the demonstrators "started throwing rocks and then, at one point, they (the soldiers) were engaged by what they believed was an AK-47" and they opened fire, said Major Michael Marti, an intelligence officer for the division's 2nd Brigade.

Iraqi officials who witnessed the gunfire said they saw or heard no shooting coming from among the protestors.

US helicopters circled over the site throughout the march and the aftermath, but did not open fire.

US officers later met Fallujah mayor **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani** and the area's top clerics in a bid to reduce tensions. Several dozen angry demonstrators gathered outside the town hall where the meeting took place.

"Get out, get out!" one protestor shouted at soldiers guarding the meeting.

"We will keep this up, we will keep them on edge," said another protester, 29-year-old Abdul Adim Mohammed Hussein.

Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said: "The Americans

TENSIONS FOLLOW A SECOND DAY OF SHOOTINGS Belfast News Letter (Northern

said 'we won't reduce the numbers, they're needed for security' but the people of Fallujah told them we already have security."

The American forces have given no indication they might reduce their presence in Fallujah, which is the site of factories suspected of being linked to banned weapons programmes for Saddam's regime.

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Midland Independent Newspapers plc
Birmingham PostMay 1, 2003, Thursday**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 9**LENGTH:** 465 words**HEADLINE:** DEATH TOLL MOUNTS AS US SOLDIERS FIRE ON PROTESTERS An Iraqi man lies dead in the street as others, some injured, scramble for safety in Fallujah, Iraq, yesterday. Meanwhile, left, demonstrators try to prevent fellow protesters from throwing stones at US troops.**BODY:**

US troops opened fire on antiAmerican demonstrators for the second time in two days during a march to protest against a previous shooting.

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Local Iraqi officials who witnessed the gunfire said they did not see or hear any shooting coming from among the protesters.

US Apache attack helicopters circled over the site throughout the march and the aftermath, but did not open fire.

US officers later met Fallujah mayor **Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani** and the area's top clerics in a bid to reduce tensions. Several dozen angry demonstrators gathered outside the town hall where the meeting took place. 'Get out, get out!' one protester shouted at soldiers guarding the meeting.

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DEATH TOLL MOUNTS AS US SOLDIERS FIRE ON PROTESTERS An Iraqi man lies de

factories suspected of being linked to banned weapons programmes for Saddam's regime. But US forces did leave their base at the school where Monday's shooting took place.

In Monday night's clash, US Central Command said paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne were fired on. Demonstrators said no gunfire came from them.

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Midland Independent Newspapers plc
Birmingham Post

May 1, 2003, Thursday

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 9

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Deseret News (Salt Lake City)

May 1, 2003, Thursday

SECTION: WIRE; Pg. A09

LENGTH: 947 words

HEADLINE: 7 soldiers injured in grenade attack

BYLINE: By Charles J. Hanley AP special correspondent

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq — Attackers lobbed two grenades into a U.S. Army compound today, wounding seven soldiers just hours after the Americans had fired on Iraqi protesters in the street outside, a U.S. intelligence officer reported.

The incident — the latest in a series of clashes and deadly shootings involving U.S. troops in Fallujah — came as President Bush prepared to address the American public from a homeward-bound aircraft carrier, declaring that major combat in Iraq is finished. (See story on A1.)

None of the injuries to soldiers of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Fallujah was life-threatening, said Capt. Frank Rosenblatt.

The troops inside the walled compound — a former police station — opened fire on men fleeing the area, but no one was captured or believed hit, said Rosenblatt, whose 82nd Airborne Division is handing over control of Fallujah to the Armored Cavalry. Officers said the attackers' identities were unknown.

The attack, at 1 a.m. Thursday, came after soldiers in the compound and in a passing Army convoy opened fire Wednesday on anti-American demonstrators massed outside. Local hospital officials said two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded.

American officers said that barrage was provoked when someone fired on the convoy from the crowd.

Wednesday's march was to protest earlier bloodshed Monday night, when 16 demonstrators and bystanders were killed and more than 50 wounded, according to hospital counts. In that clash, an 82nd Airborne company, whose members said they were being shot at, fired on a protest outside a school occupied by U.S. soldiers.

Some Fallujah residents said they had heard relatives of victims vow to avenge Wednesday's shootings — and many in the city have declared they want the American troops to leave.

Brig. Gen. Dan Hahn, the Army V Corps chief of staff, said U.S. forces had solid intelligence that the "bad actors" in Fallujah were members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party who were using crowds as cover during demonstrations.

"The people in the city want to get rid of this problem. We have people in the city coming up to tell us who the bad actors are," Hahn said. "In every instance, our soldiers have shown discipline and restraint."

In the future, he said, tear gas and other riot-control measure might be used to quash violent demonstrations.

Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 30 miles west of Baghdad, benefited more than most Iraqi towns from Saddam's regime.

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. Many of its young men joined elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

U.S. military officials met Wednesday with local religious and clan leaders on the security situation.

"We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and

7 soldiers injured in grenade attack Deseret News (Salt Lake City) May 1

injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers looking at Fallujah women, and some believed the Americans' goggles or binoculars could "see" through curtains or clothing.

Despite the clashes in Fallujah, U.S. military commanders in Baghdad said the overall situation in Iraq is improving.

"If you look at the country as a whole, it is stable," said Hahn. However, he said the massive amount of arms and ammunition being uncovered daily across Iraq posed a major problem.

"The entire country is almost like an ammunitions and weapons dump. And they've placed them in places you would not expect," he said. "There are weapons here from every country in the world that makes weapons."

In the northern city of Mosul, 153 arms caches had already been found, one containing 1.2 million mortar rounds and 65,000 artillery shells. Some 150 arms and ammunition sites have been discovered in Baghdad, officials said.

In a radio broadcast Thursday, the commander of U.S. ground forces in Iraq urged citizens to help move the country forward by going back to work, stopping looting and cooperating to improve postwar security.

Lt. Gen. David McKiernan made the statement through Information Radio, the U.S.-led coalition's station, which is being broadcast across Iraq.

"I call for putting an end to all acts of sabotage and criminal acts including plundering, looting and attacking coalition forces," he said in remarks read by an announcer in Arabic.

Information Radio has been running frequent announcements exhorting Iraqis to accept U.S. forces, and warning any foreign fighters in Iraq to leave or face arrest.

McKiernan also said that any checkpoints not supervised by coalition forces are unauthorized.

In other developments:

—A government official in Jordan said customs officers searching travelers leaving Iraq have confiscated dozens of artworks and archaeological items that may have been stolen from the National Museum in Baghdad and Saddam's palaces.

—Britain will establish its first diplomatic presence in Iraq for 12 years when a team of officials travels to Baghdad this weekend, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said Thursday. The four-member diplomatic mission will set up an office to prepare for reopening an embassy once a new government is in place. The British embassy in Baghdad closed on Jan. 12 1991, four days before Operation Desert Storm launched the Gulf War

—A group of civil engineers were shot at while working in a gas-oil separation plant in southern Iraq's Rumeila oil fields, according to the U.S. Central Command. No injuries were reported; Central Command did not give the nationality of the engineers or any details about the assailants.

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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The Halifax Daily News (Nova Scotia)

May 1, 2003 Thursday DAILY Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 15

LENGTH: 705 words

HEADLINE: U.S. troops fire on Iraqi protesters again

BYLINE: By Charles J. Hanley, The Associated Press

DATELINE: Fallujah, Iraq

BODY:

Fallujah, Iraq – American troops fired on anti-U.S. protesters in Fallujah yesterday and said they won't give up their foothold in the one-time Baath party bastion. At least two people were killed and 18 wounded, hospital officials reported.

In a bloodier episode Monday night, 15 protesters and bystanders were killed, and at least 50 wounded, officials said.

In both cases, U.S. officers — and the U.S. Central Command — claimed their soldiers were fired on first from among the crowds.

But Iraqis denied it, and no weapons or suspects have been produced.

After yesterday's shootings, a U.S. army colonel said his forces will remain here "to help the city stabilize." Residents repeatedly said they want the Americans at least to withdraw to the city's outskirts.

Some were threatening. "Sooner or later U.S. killers, we'll kill you," read an angry banner in English unfurled in the faces of troops on guard in the central city.

This week's Fallujah bloodshed, in large part the result of clashes between a foreign force and a traditional Muslim society, underscores the military's challenge in a land where many say they will resist any foreign hand that tries to control them.

The resistance may be especially sharp in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 50 kilometres west of Baghdad, because it benefited particularly from Saddam Hussein's Baath regime, toppled last month by the U.S.-led coalition.

The regime built factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen.

The city sent many of its young men to elite forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

An indication of the city's fealty to the old regime: air force Maj.-Gen. Gene Renuart, the Central Command's operations director, said Monday's demonstration was apparently in celebration of Saddam's birthday.

Yesterday's violence occurred at the climax of a march by 1,000 men protesting the earlier shootings, which took place at a Fallujah school taken over for a time by a company of the 82nd Airborne Division.

The marchers, mostly young men in sandals and ankle-length dishdashas, halted on Fallujah's main avenue before a former police compound used as an 82nd Airborne command post.

A flyer they distributed denounced Monday night's shootings, in which children were among the dead, as a "vicious and unprecedented crime," and demanded punishment for those responsible.

Overhead in the hot, clear skies, army Apache helicopters circled, barely skimming the blue tile-topped minarets of Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim city known for its many mosques.

U.S. troops fire on Iraqi protesters again The Halifax Daily News (Nova

Within minutes, the protesters were throwing stones — and then shoes — some 30 metres toward U.S. soldiers hunkered down behind sandbags in the compound.

A six-vehicle U.S. army convoy then ventured past, between the protesters and the U.S. compound.

Suddenly gunfire erupted, though it wasn't clear from where. From atop one vehicle, a soldier fired a mounted machine-gun toward the crowd.

Other automatic fire came from paratroopers inside the compound. The marchers, panicked, dropped their banners and fled for the safety of side streets. Some stopped to pick up fallen friends.

It lasted less than a minute. Doctors later said the two dead men suffered head wounds.

American officers claimed someone in the crowd fired a weapon at the convoy.

"There was gunfire by at least one person," said Lt.-Col. Tobin Green, a squadron commander in the 3rd Armoured Cavalry Regiment, whose troops were in Fallujah to take control from the 82nd Airborne.

Iraqi witnesses denied there was any gunfire from the crowd. "The Americans inside the compound just fired randomly," Khazal Abdul Hadi, 44, a marcher wounded in the leg, said from his hospital bed.

After Monday night's bloodshed, too, officers said the American barrage was justified return fire.

"Everything was within the rules of engagement," said Capt. Jeff Wilbur, an 82nd Airborne civil affairs officer. "There'll be no formal investigation."

Local leaders were unsatisfied. "We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

GRAPHIC: Fatal clash: U.S. troops fire into a crowd of Iraqi protesters yesterday. U.S. officials say the troops had been shot at.

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Irish NewsMay 01, 2003**SECTION:** Pg. 23**LENGTH:** 463 words**HEADLINE:** US troops fire on demonstrators in rally;**BODY:**

US TROOPS opened fire on anti-American demonstrators for the second time in two days yesterday morning during a march to protest against the previous shooting.

The mayor of Fallujah said two people were killed and 14 were wounded.

The gunfire came less than 48 hours after a shooting during a demonstration on Monday night that doctors said killed 13 Iraqis.

About 1,000 residents marched down Fallujah's main street and stopped in front of the battalion headquarters of the US Army's 82nd Airborne Division. They were carrying signs condemning Monday night's shooting.

When some protesters started throwing rocks and shoes at the US-held compound – a former office of Saddam Hussein's ruling Baath Party – troops in a passing convoy opened fire at about 10:30am (0730 BST).

Soldiers inside the compound also started shooting.

The demonstrators scattered, leaving two of their number on the ground. Others came back and picked up the wounded and carried them away.

US Captain Jeff Wilbur, a civil affairs officer with the 1st Battalion's 325 Airborne regiment, said US forces were investigating whether the protesters had fired on troops.

He said it was not clear whether any Americans were hurt in the incident.

As the convoy passed, the demonstrators "started throwing rocks and then at one point, they (the soldiers) were engaged by what they believed was an AK-47" and they opened fire, said Major Michael Marti, an intelligence officer for the division's 2nd Brigade.

Local Iraqi officials, who witnessed the gunfire, said they saw or heard no shooting coming from among the protesters.

US officers later met Fallujah mayor **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani** and the area's top clerics in a bid to reduce tensions.

Several dozen angry demonstrators gathered outside the town hall where the meeting took place.

"Get out, get out!" one protester shouted at soldiers guarding the meeting.

Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said: "The Americans said 'we won't reduce the numbers, they're needed for security.' But the people of Fallujah told them we already have security."

The American forces have given no indication they might reduce their presence in Fallujah, which is the site of factories suspected of being linked to banned weapons programmes for Saddam's regime.

But US forces did leave their base at the school where Monday's shooting took place.

In Monday night's clash, US Central Command claimed that paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne were fired on by about 25 armed civilians mixed in with an estimated 200 protesters outside the school compound the troops were

US troops fire on demonstrators in rally; Irish News May 01, 2003

occupying.

Demonstrators said no gunfire came from them during Monday night's incident.

GRAPHIC: TENSION: Donald Rumsfeld

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Knight Ridder/Tribune Business News
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Knight Ridder Washington Bureau

May 1, 2003, Thursday

KR-ACC-NO: WA-USIRAQ

LENGTH: 998 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Soldiers Kill at Least Two More Anti-War Protestors in Iraq

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq — U.S. soldiers opened fire on angry Iraqi demonstrators who were pelting them with shoes and stones Wednesday, killing at least two and bringing the toll to 15 dead and 89 wounded in this week's anti-American protests in this city west of Baghdad.

The shootings came as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld made a triumphant tour of Baghdad, becoming the first top-level U.S. official to visit the capital since it fell three weeks ago.

"You rescued a nation, you liberated a people, you deposed a cruel dictator," he told U.S. troops who sat atop helicopters, rocket launchers, artillery and tanks inside a hangar at Baghdad's international airport.

It was a stark contrast to the scene in Fallujah, where Americans hunkered down against hundreds of protesters angrily demanding their departure as a U.S. officer met with the city's self-appointed mayor to hear him demand that the Americans prosecute soldiers who fired into the crowd.

"We don't accept American troops, we don't accept American occupation," throngs of Iraqis chanted outside.

"Yes, yes for Islam; No to America, No to Saddam," they also chanted. A local imam, or prayer leader, led the chants.

Trouble broke out in Fallujah over the weekend when, according to U.S. intelligence officers, gunmen killed a man who had been cooperating with U.S. forces.

Then Monday night, protests erupted outside a school that was being used as a barracks for U.S. soldiers. Soldiers said there were shots from the crowd, so they fired back, killing at least 13 Iraqis and wounding 75 others. Iraqis said Americans were the only ones firing.

Wednesday's shootings took place as about 1,000 Iraqis were protesting the Monday killings outside a Baath Party building being used as a U.S. headquarters.

When a six-vehicle convoy of U.S. Humvees and trucks roared up, the crowd began pelting them with shoes and stones. U.S. troops said someone shot at the convoy, a claim demonstrators disputed, and the Americans opened fire.

Apache helicopters hovered overhead during the melee but did not fire, both sides agree.

Lt. Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment said the shootings were the result of "the evildoers ... deliberately placing at risk all of the good civilians."

"These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover," he said.

Green said the troops who fired were members of the 101st Airborne Division, which he said was being rotated out of the city.

Army intelligence officers, searching for an explanation for the violence in Fallujah, described the city of about 200,000 as a stronghold of sympathy for Saddam Hussein and a possible hideout for Saddam loyalists.

The city, about 30 miles west of Baghdad, is home to an industrial complex once suspected of manufacturing mustard

U.S. Soldiers Kill at Least Two More Anti-War Protestors in Iraq Knight

gas. It was bombed both during the first Gulf War in 1991 and again in March when jet fighters targeted a Republican Guard post there.

Police lieutenant Laith Ayad Abed said that American troops did not arrive in Fallujah until about 10 days after Baghdad fell. During that time, Fallujah residents seized many weapons abandoned by the Iraqi army, including assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, armor-piercing rockets called SPG-9s, as well as Russian-made landmines, 82 mm machine guns and cannons.

He said he did not doubt that residents would use them against Americans. "There were many people killed," he said, "and they have to avenge their deaths."

Fallujah's mayor, who said he was "elected" at a meeting of the city's elders before the Americans arrived in town, said he, too, would expect people to fight if the U.S. troops remained in the city.

"Muslims don't care about death. If necessary we will fight," said Taha Bidawi al Alwani.

Alwani also accused the U.S. forces of "taunting the Iraqi people" by squatting in schools and government buildings and blocking access to mosques.

"The people have the right to express themselves," Alwani said, sprinkling his comments with the word "occupation."

In Baghdad, Rumsfeld stepped out of the back hatch of a military C-130 cargo plane about noon at what used to be known as Saddam International Airport after a flight from Basra, where he had sipped tea with a British general. He was greeted by Gen. William Wallace, commanding general of the U.S. Army's V Corps.

He paused to shake a few hands and pose for photographs with excited soldiers before getting into an armored Humvee.

His 15-vehicle convoy, including a large security detail, then drove into Baghdad for a tour of a power plant. Upon his return to the airport, Rumsfeld strode up to the stage and took the podium.

"What a sight!" he exclaimed, to loud applause.

He took a few dig at critics of the war, ranging from those who predicted that an American war in Iraq would descend into a quagmire to Iraq's former information minister, who had insisted American forces had been soundly defeated even as U.S. tanks were entering the capital.

"I have to admit, I'm surprised to see you here," Rumsfeld told the troops. "The world was told there were no Americans in Baghdad. Over and over."

But Rumsfeld acknowledged that much remains to be done. He said the remnants of Saddam's regime "have to be removed from every corner" and many of its former leaders still have to be found. Terrorist networks in the country have to be eliminated, and Iraqis still need American military help in restoring their basic services, security and stability.

He volunteered to take questions from the soldiers but said he would not attempt to answer when they might be headed home, a question preoccupying men and women who in many cases arrived in the region months before the war began and waited out the diplomatic maneuvering that preceded it.

By Carol Rosenberg and Andrea Gerlin. Rosenberg of The Miami Herald reported from Fallujah. Gerlin of The Philadelphia Inquirer reported from Baghdad.

JOURNAL-CODE: WA

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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MAY 1, 2003 Thursday FINAL EDITION

SECTION: FRONT; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 940 words

HEADLINE: U.S. TROOPS KILL 2 PROTESTERS; WEEK'S IRAQI TOLL RISES TO 15

BYLINE: CAROL ROSENBERG AND ANDREA GERLIN, crosenberg@herald.com

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

U.S. soldiers opened fire on angry Iraqi demonstrators Wednesday, killing at least two and bringing the toll to 15 dead and 89 wounded in two days of anti-American protests in this city west of Baghdad.

The soldiers said someone in the crowd fired on them first. Iraqis said they were only pelting them with shoes and stones.

The shootings came as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld made a triumphant tour of Baghdad, becoming the first top-level U.S. official to visit the capital since it fell three weeks ago.

"You rescued a nation, you liberated a people, you deposed a cruel dictator," he told U.S. troops who sat atop helicopters, rocket launchers, artillery and tanks inside a hangar at Baghdad's international airport.

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CONVOY PELTED

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U.S. TROOPS KILL 2 PROTESTERS; WEEK'S IRAQI TOLL RISES TO 15 The

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Army intelligence officers, searching for an explanation for the violence in Fallujah, described the city of about 200,000 as a stronghold of sympathy for Saddam Hussein and a possible hide-out for Hussein loyalists.

The city, about 30 miles west of Baghdad, is home to an industrial complex once suspected of manufacturing mustard gas. It was bombed both during the first Gulf War in 1991 and again in March when jet fighters targeted a Republican Guard post there.

Police Lt. Laith Ayad Abed said that American troops did not arrive in Fallujah until about 10 days after Baghdad fell.

During that time, Fallujah residents seized many weapons abandoned by the Iraqi army, including assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, armor-piercing rockets called SPG-9s, as well as Russian-made land mines, 82 mm machine guns and cannons.

He said he did not doubt that residents would use them against Americans. "There were many people killed," he said, "and they have to avenge their deaths."

Fallujah's mayor, who said he was "elected" at a meeting of the city's elders before the Americans arrived in town, said he, too, would expect people to fight if the U.S. troops remained in the city.

"Muslims don't care about death. If necessary we will fight," said **Taha Bidawi Alwani**.

Alwani also accused the U.S. forces of "taunting the Iraqi people" by squatting in schools and government buildings and blocking access to mosques.

In Baghdad, Rumsfeld stepped out of the back hatch of a military C-130 cargo plane about noon at what used to be known as Saddam International Airport after a flight from Basra, where he had sipped tea with a British general. He was greeted by Gen. William Wallace, commanding general of the U.S. Army's V Corps.

He paused to shake a few hands and pose for photographs with excited soldiers before getting into an armored Humvee.

TAKING THE PODIUM

His 15-vehicle convoy, including a large security detail, then drove into Baghdad for a tour of a power plant. Upon his return to the airport, Rumsfeld strode up to the stage and took the podium.

"What a sight!" he exclaimed, to loud applause.

A He took a few dig at critics of the war, ranging from those who predicted that an American war in Iraq would descend into a quagmire to Iraq's former information minister, who had insisted American forces had been soundly defeated even as U.S. tanks were entering the capital.

"I have to admit, I'm surprised to see you here," Rumsfeld told the troops. "The world was told there were no Americans in Baghdad. Over and over."

REGIME'S REMNANTS

But Rumsfeld acknowledged that much remains to be done. He said the remnants of Hussein's regime "have to be removed from every corner" and many of its former leaders still have to be found. Terrorist networks in the country have to be eliminated, and Iraqis still need American military help in restoring their basic services, security and stability.

He volunteered to take questions from the soldiers but said he would not attempt to answer when they might be headed home.

NOTES: IRAQ AFTER THE WAR

GRAPHIC: color photo: U.S. soldiers fire on demonstrators (a), Iraqi man lies dead as others flee (a)

photo: Donald Rumsfeld (a), Iraqi demonstrators (a);

PHOTOS BY HUSSEIN MALLA, AP DEATH SCENE: An Iraqi man lies dead in the street as others scramble for safety in Fallujah on Wednesday.

U.S. TROOPS KILL 2 PROTESTERS; WEEK'S IRAQI TOLL RISES TO 15 The

HUSSEIN MALLA, AP TAUNTED: Iraqi demonstrators yell at a U.S. soldier in Fallujah on Wednesday after troops fired on a crowd protesting the killing of at least 13 Iraqis in a previous shooting this week.

LUKE FRAZZA, AFP VISITOR'S 'BOOK': Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld signs a Baghdad road sign at the request of a U.S. soldier.

LOAD-DATE: July 28, 2005

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Copyright 2003 National Post, All Rights Reserved
National Post (Canada)May 1, 2003 Thursday National Edition**SECTION:** World; Pg. A13**LENGTH:** 808 words**HEADLINE:** Bush to declare end to fighting: Announcement aboard USS Abraham Lincoln sets the stage for reconstruction of Iraq: Mere 'pockets of danger'**SOURCE:** National Post, with files from The New York Times**BYLINE:** Araminta Wordsworth**BODY:**

Choosing the highly symbolic backdrop of an American aircraft carrier far out on the waters of the Pacific Ocean, George W. Bush, the U.S. President, will announce today that the major fighting in Iraq is over.

The USS Abraham Lincoln is still out of helicopter range as it steams toward San Diego en route to its home port of Everett, Wash.

To reach the huge ship, Mr. Bush will embark in a small plane that will make a cable-assisted landing on the massive flight deck. There, he can expect a rapturous welcome from the more than 5,000 crew who have been at sea for 10 months, far longer than their initially scheduled deployment.

The President is due to spend the night on the carrier, but will leave before the ship docks in San Diego tomorrow.

Ari Fleischer, the White House spokesman, made it clear there will be no formal declaration of the war's end when Mr. Bush delivers his speech this evening. Nor will there be gloating over the ouster of the regime of Saddam Hussein.

"This is not a formal legalistic ending of the conflict, no," Mr. Fleischer said. "It is the fact that major combat operations have ended.

"The United States military forces continue to be fired at," he added. "There are pockets of danger."

Mr. Bush's top commander in the conflict, General Tommy Franks, told him on Tuesday that major combat operations were over, the spokesman added.

Today's announcement — which the White House hopes will be carried live by the major U.S. networks — will not amount to a formal or legal end to hostilities as this would require steps under international law such as the freeing of war prisoners. But it sets the stage for the U.S.-led operations in Iraq to focus on reconstruction.

"This is a marked and important moment, because — as the President will describe — the Iraqi people now have freedom," Mr. Fleischer said.

"And the threat to the United States has been removed, and he will address the nation just as he did at the beginning of the conflict."

The war began on March 20 with a bomb attack aimed at killing Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi president, whose whereabouts remain unknown.

In a new move toward reconstruction of the war-torn country, Colin Powell, the U.S. Secretary of State, has recommended the United States determine that U.S. laws against "state sponsors of terrorism" no longer apply to Iraq. This would make it easier to trade with and provide aid to Baghdad, a U.S. official said yesterday.

Mr. Bush has not yet decided whether to accept the recommendation, said Cofer Black, the State Department's co-

Bush to declare end to fighting: Announcement aboard USS Abraham Lincoln

ordinator for counterterrorism.

Also yesterday, Richard Armitage, the deputy secretary of state, said captured Iraqi scientists were beginning to co-operate with the United States and he was confident unconventional weapons would be found in Iraq.

Ending alleged chemical, nuclear and biological weapons programs was a major justification for the war on Iraq, but no such weapons have been found.

The President may allude to that continuing danger in his address this evening. And if his previous comments are any indication, he will probably give thanks to Americans who have died in Iraq and to their families.

In an unannounced visit to Baghdad yesterday, Donald Rumsfeld, the Defence Secretary, addressed members of the U.S. military, telling the men and women they had done something remarkable.

"You've rescued a nation; you've liberated a people; you've deposed a cruel dictator; and you have ended his threat to free nations," he said.

"Unlike many armies in the world, you came not to conquer, not to occupy, but to liberate."

In an address to the Iraqi people, the Defence Secretary also said U.S. troops would stay only as long as needed to ensure Iraq had a democratic government.

"Our goal is to restore stability and security so that you can form an interim government and eventually a free Iraqi government — a government of your choosing, a government that is of Iraqi design and Iraqi choice."

But the day saw more violence, as U.S. troops opened fire for the second time this week on an angry crowd in the town of Falluja, near Baghdad.

A local hospital official said two men had been killed. Soldiers said they fired only after being shot at.

The crowd had been protesting outside the main U.S. command post about the killing of at least 13 Iraqis in the town on Monday night. Troops opened fire after about 1,000 people marched down the main street to throw rocks and stones at the U.S. compound. U.S. Lieutenant Tobin Green said a six-vehicle convoy was shot at and responded with gunfire.

But city officials who witnessed the shooting said they neither saw nor heard gunshots from among the protesters. **Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani**, Falluja's Mayor, said 14 people were wounded, and called for an investigation and compensation for the victims.

GRAPHIC: Black & White Photo: Hussein Malla, The Associated Press; An Iraqi lies dead as others, some wounded, scramble for safety in Falluja, west of Baghdad, yesterday after U.S. soldiers opened fire for a second day on protesters who allegedly shot at them. U.S. President George W. Bush will announce today that the fighting in Iraq is mostly over.

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Copyright 2003 The New York Times Company
The New York TimesMay 1, 2003 Thursday
Late Edition - Final**SECTION:** Section A; Column 2; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1**LENGTH:** 1148 words**HEADLINE:** AFTEREFFECTS: VIOLENCE;
G.I.'s Kill 2 More Protesters in an Angry Iraqi City**BYLINE:** By IAN FISHER with MICHAEL R. GORDON**DATELINE:** FALLUJA, Iraq, April 30**BODY:**

American soldiers shot and killed at least two more demonstrators today as a crowd of angry Iraqis chanted and threw stones to protest the killing of 15 people by soldiers in a similar demonstration here two days ago.

American military officials said that some protesters had fired at a convoy passing by the demonstration and that those shots prompted the soldiers to return fire, killing two Iraqis. The Falluja general hospital reported three dead, however, and residents said a fourth was killed but not taken to the hospital.

As with the shooting Monday night, many Iraqis contended that the crowd was peaceful and unarmed.

"Is this Bush's freedom and liberation?" Faleh Ibrahim, 35, asked this evening as several hundred mourners marched to a cemetery here with the coffins of two dead men, one covered in an Iraqi flag. "We don't want Bush, and we don't want to be liberated. The Iraqis will bring their own liberation."

This Sunni Muslim city about 30 miles west of Baghdad, long a stronghold of support for Saddam Hussein, may not be representative of Iraq, which is overwhelmingly glad to be rid of him.

But complaints about the American military presence are echoed around the country, and this city may provide an early test of whether United States forces can defuse that tension.

In Baghdad, residents complain that American soldiers did not act quickly or forcefully enough to contain violence after Mr. Hussein's fall, but in Falluja, where most families have guns, people say the troops have been too much in evidence, especially in residential areas.

One religious leader here, Sheik Muhammad Mutlaq, said there were two things American troops could do quickly to calm tempers, which threaten to rise as people here pledge to hold larger demonstrations in the coming days.

Along with many other local leaders, he said the troops should move out of residential neighborhoods. He also said they should be less quick to resort to deadly force. "They should fire into the air," he said. "What they did was just to fire right at people."

American officials say their troops have the right to shoot back at those who fire on them.

Lt. Brent Andrew, executive officer of an Army company in a compound near where the demonstration today took place, said there was much gunfire aimed both into the air and directly at the compound during the demonstration.

"Guns were everywhere here," he said. "People fired everywhere."

"The response we always take is peaceful," he added. But when fired on, he said, "we engage nothing unless we positively identify a weapon."

AFTEREFFECTS: VIOLENCE; G.I.'s Kill 2 More Protesters in an Angry I

Local residents disputed that, noting that hospitals reported some 65 people wounded in Monday's incident and 15 more wounded today.

Asked about this week's shootings, Maj. Gen. Buford C. Blount III, the commander of the Third Infantry Division, said the incidents were under investigation.

But he added: "They get a crowd together, then one or two people in the crowd with automatic weapons start shooting at us. Our soldiers have to defend themselves."

American military officials say the episodes were provoked by a small group of members of the Baath Party of Mr. Hussein. Falluja has long been something of a stronghold for the party.

According to American officials, about a dozen Iraqis seem to be behind most of the trouble.

Their general strategy, American officials say, is to organize a demonstration. Then young men mingling with or near the crowd fire on the soldiers. The aim, the officials say, is provoke the Americans into firing back and hitting innocent civilians, a move intended to encourage popular opposition to the American role in Iraq.

If this is indeed the strategy, it may be having the desired effect: the attempts by American soldiers to respond to the shootings appear to have stirred up popular resentment.

The problems began late Monday, when several hundred demonstrators marched toward a school in a residential neighborhood where United States troops had based themselves several days earlier.

Military officials said some in the crowd and on neighboring roofs began firing on the soldiers at the school. The soldiers returned fire, killing 15 people, according to three local hospitals.

Today's demonstration was more organized. Residents said about 1,000 people, including community and religious leaders, gathered near a compound once used as the local center for the Baath Party and now the headquarters for Army's 82nd Airborne Division. Some carried signs, including one that read, "Our pride is our Islam."

The violence began after the demonstrators — whose number Lieutenant Andrew put closer to 300 — began swarming a convoy carrying Lt. Col. Tobin Green, commander of the Third Armored Cavalry Regiment's second squadron, who was traveling to meet the mayor and several local Sunni leaders. The regiment is assuming responsibility for the town from the 82nd Airborne, which is being withdrawn from Iraq.

"It started peacefully," Lieutenant Andrew said. "Within a few minutes they started throwing rocks, pieces of concrete, then moved on to bricks."

He said several in the crowd also began firing weapons, some into the air but others at the compound and at the convoy. He said it was soldiers in the convoy who returned fire.

To disperse the crowd, two Apache AH-64 attack helicopters were summoned to the scene.

As in Monday's demonstration, residents said no one fired on the troops. "There were no weapons at all," said Sadoun Hamadi, 22, a demonstrator. "They just started shooting at us. We don't know why."

Mr. Hamadi spoke at the cemetery where his friend Saleh Khader Abbas, 31, was one of two men buried. He said people began to scatter as the Americans opened fire.

"I saw shooting and I saw my friend fall down," he said. Mr. Abbas, the father of four children, was shot in the face and the chest, Mr. Hamadi said.

The two others reported dead were identified as Ghanem Ahmad Abdulla Owaid, 25, and Ahmad Hashim Jassim, 50.

Other residents, including a local imam, said some people did, in fact, fire at the Americans. The imam said the firing was not from the demonstrators, but from outside agitators. One man suggested that the firing came from American "agents" driving by in a car.

Many people, in a society that endured 30 years of dictatorship in which conspiracy theories were rife, said the shootings added up to a calculated plan by American officials to intimidate Iraqis into submission.

"One hundred percent it's a plan," Mr. Hamadi said. "They are here as an occupying power. They want to occupy us and they don't want us to resist."

AFTEREFFECTS: VIOLENCE; G.I.'s Kill 2 More Protesters in an Angry I

Today, the city's mayor, **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, who was chosen by local religious and tribal leaders after the end of Mr. Hussein's rule, met with soldiers here to discuss the problems. He said it would be better if the troops pulled back from inside the city.

"It will be safer for them," he said, "and definitely safer for us."

URL: <http://www.nytimes.com>

GRAPHIC: Photos: The body of a man lay in a street in Falluja, Iraq, yesterday after American soldiers clashed with demonstrators for the second time this week. (Hussein Malla/Associated Press)(pg. A1); Saleh Khudhir al-Jumaili, one of at least two men killed during a protest in Falluja, Iraq, was buried yesterday. (Ruben Sprich/Reuters); Men prayed before the burial of Saleh Khader Abbas, 31, who also died at the demonstration in Falluja. (Farah Nosh for The New York Times)(pg. A15)

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Newsletter

May 1, 2003

LENGTH: 425 words

HEADLINE: TENSIONS FOLLOW A SECOND DAY OF SHOOTINGS

BYLINE: CHARLES HANLEY

BODY:

US TROOPS opened fire on anti-American demonstrators for the second time in two days yesterday morning during a march to protest against the previous shooting.

The mayor of Fallujah said two people were killed and 14 wounded.

The gunfire came less than 48 hours after a shooting during a demonstration on Monday night that doctors said killed 13 Iraqis.

About 1,000 residents marched down Fallujah's main street and stopped in front of a battalion headquarters of the US Army's 82nd Airborne Division. They were carrying signs condemning Monday night's shooting.

When some protesters started throwing rocks and shoes at the US-held compound - a former office of Saddam Hussein's ruling Baath Party - troops in a passing convoy opened fire at about 10:30 am. Troops inside the compound also started shooting.

The demonstrators scattered, leaving two of their number on the ground. Others came back and picked up the wounded and carried them away.

US Captain Jeff Wilbur, a civil affairs officer with the 1st Battalion's 325 Airborne regiment, said US forces were investigating whether the protestors had fired on troops.

He said it was not clear whether any Americans were hurt in the incident.

As the convoy passed, the demonstrators "started throwing rocks and then, at one point, they (the soldiers) were engaged by what they believed was an AK-47" and they opened fire, said Major Michael Marti, an intelligence officer for the division's 2nd Brigade.

Iraqi officials who witnessed the gunfire said they saw or heard no shooting coming from among the protestors.

US helicopters circled over the site throughout the march and the aftermath, but did not open fire.

US officers later met Fallujah mayor **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani** and the area's top clerics in a bid to reduce tensions. Several dozen angry demonstrators gathered outside the town hall where the meeting took place.

"Get out, get out!" one protestor shouted at soldiers guarding the meeting.

"We will keep this up, we will keep them on edge," said another protester, 29-year-old Abdul Adim Mohammed Hussein.

Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said: "The Americans said 'we won't reduce the numbers, they're needed for security' but the people of Fallujah told them we already have

TENSIONS FOLLOW A SECOND DAY OF SHOOTINGS Newsletter May 1, 2003

security."

The American forces have given no indication they might reduce their presence in Fallujah, which is the site of factories suspected of being linked to banned weapons programmess for Saddam's regime.

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LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario)

May 1, 2003 Thursday Final Edition

SECTION: FRONT; Pg. A8

LENGTH: 417 words

HEADLINE: Two more Iraqi protesters said killed by U.S. troops

SOURCE: Associated Press

DATELINE: BAGHDAD

BODY:

For the second time this week, U.S. soldiers fired on anti-American protesters yesterday in the city of Fallujah where the mayor said two people were killed and 14 wounded.

Meanwhile, the White House said yesterday that U.S. President George W. Bush planned to speak to the nation later this week to announce that major combat in Iraq had ended.

Bush, to deliver his speech tonight from the returning aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln while it was still at sea, would neither declare victory nor declare the war to be over, said White House press secretary Ari Fleischer.

In Iraq, Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld became the first top Bush administration official to visit the country since Saddam Hussein's ouster.

Rumsfeld told U.S. troops at Baghdad's airport: "We want the Iraqi people to live in freedom so they can build a future where the Iraqi leaders answer to the Iraqi people rather than killing them."

He also taped a broadcast message to Iraqis saying the United States is eager to return the country to their control.

Rumsfeld told the troops that the Bush administration is using diplomatic efforts to encourage countries to turn over wanted Iraqis to U.S. authorities, and that some nations are no longer taking in fugitives.

The shooting in Fallujah, 50 kilometres west of Baghdad, occurred less than 48 hours after gunfire during a demonstration Monday night that hospital officials said killed 13 Iraqis.

About 1,000 people marched down the city's main street yesterday to protest the earlier incident, stopping in front of a battalion headquarters of the U.S. army's 82nd Airborne Division — a former office of Saddam's Baath party.

American officers at the scene, and U.S. Central Command in Qatar, said U.S. soldiers in the compound and in a passing convoy opened fire in response to rock-throwing and gunfire.

During the march, and for hours afterward, U.S. Apache attack helicopters circled the site, barely skimming the tops of the tiled-roof minarets of Fallujah's mosques.

Fallujah's mayor, Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, said he asked for an investigation and compensation for the victims.

He added that U.S. soldiers have been asked to stay away from mosques, residential areas and other sensitive places; the Americans agreed to study the request.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces. And many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions," said al-Alwani, a former Iraqi exile and opponent of Saddam's regime.

GRAPHIC: Photo: ASSOCIATED PRESS; U.S. Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld walks through Saddam Hussein's Abu Gharyb Palace in Baghdad yesterday. The palace now serves as the headquarters of U.S. Lt. Gen. David

Two more Iraqi protesters said killed by U.S. troops The Record (Kitchen

McKiernan (left) who is in charge of all U.S. ground forces in Iraq.

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Reuters News

May 1, 2003 Thursday 2:39 PM GMT

LENGTH: 631 words

HEADLINE: UPDATE 4-Seven US soldiers wounded in Iraq grenade attack.

BYLINE: By Saul Hudson

BODY:

(Updates with resident quote, details of attack, scene colour, paragraphs 1, 6, 8-9, 20)

FALLUJA, Iraq, May 1 (Reuters) - Seven U.S. soldiers were wounded when Iraqis lobbed two grenades into their base in the city of Falluja, where American troops killed at least 15 people during protests this week, the U.S. military said on Thursday.

"The attack was an expression of the anger of a few people in the city after what happened," Captain Alan Vaught said, referring to U.S. shootings at earlier anti-American protests.

Falluja Mayor **Taha** Badawi Hamid al-**Alwani** and some residents said the assailants used rocket-propelled grenades. Soldiers at the compound, located on the city's busiest street, said they could not tell whether the grenades were thrown or launched.

The U.S. soldiers wounded in the attack late on Wednesday were evacuated from the city 50 km (30 miles) west of Baghdad. A U.S. Central Command statement said of the seven wounded, five required medical attention and were in stable condition.

After the attack, U.S. troops exchanged gunfire with Iraqis. Centcom said U.S. forces "exercised their inherent right to self-defence". Neither U.S. nor Iraqi officials had information on any Iraqi casualties.

Alwani, who was selected by local tribesmen to lead the city after the fall of Saddam Hussein on April 9, condemned the attack, saying: "Anybody, whoever he is, American or Iraqi, who resorts to violence is an evil person."

Deputy Mayor Ziad Mekhlif said: "The religious leaders in the city are working with the government to ask the people to stay calm. But, if the Americans make a mistake and overreact again, I don't know how we will contain the hatred."

Tension has been running high in the conservative Sunni Muslim city of about 270,000 over the presence of U.S. troops stationed in a former Baath party compound protected with barbed wire and guarded from sand-bagged gun positions on the roof.

On Monday U.S. soldiers fired on an angry crowd demanding U.S. troops leave a school they had occupied. Thirteen Iraqis were killed. Two days later, two Iraqis were killed when U.S. soldiers opened fire in a similar incident.

The U.S. military said its troops were shot at first in both cases but Iraqi witnesses said the shootings were unprovoked.

While Falluja residents generally say they are grateful the Americans ousted Saddam, they have made clear they want U.S. troops to leave them to govern their city as soon as possible.

Many residents complain that soldiers train their guns on them during tank patrols and spy into their homes with binoculars. They praised what they called a "revenge" attack.

"The Americans deserved what they got and they should expect more of the same. They should get out or this will get worse and become another Palestine with suicide attacks," Mehdi Saleh, a 37-year-old unemployed resident of the city

UPDATE 4-Seven US soldiers wounded in Iraq grenade attack. Reuters News

said, referring to assaults by Palestinian bombers against Israelis.

On the perimeter walls of the mayor's compound, residents hung anti-American banners. "Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kick you out," read one sign, written in English.

Ahmed Muthana, 14, whose father was wounded and uncle killed when soldiers shot at demonstrators on Monday said: "I can't do anything now because they have tanks. But I will wait and I will kill Americans. I will take my revenge."

City officials said they had been negotiating with U.S. troops over moving their base to the outskirts of the city. U.S. soldiers have left the school that sparked Monday's protest.

Deputy Mayor Mekhlif said the U.S. military presence was less visible on Thursday than in previous days, with no road checkpoints and fewer surveillance helicopters overhead.

Still, the rumble of tanks around the U.S. compound drowned out the evening call to prayers from the city mosque.

NOTES:

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San Jose Mercury News (California)

May 1, 2003 Thursday MORNING FINAL EDITION

SECTION: FRONT; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1074 words

HEADLINE: TWO MORE IRAQIS SLAIN BY U.S. DURING PROTESTS;
RUMSFELD MAKES TRIUMPHANT TOUR OF BAGHDAD
U.S. SOLDIERS AGAIN SAY THEY WERE FIRED ON FIRST

BYLINE: CAROL ROSENBERG AND ANDREA GERLIN, Mercury News

DATELINE: AL-FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

Violence erupted for the second time this week in this onetime stronghold of Saddam Hussein as U.S. soldiers opened fire Wednesday on angry Iraqi demonstrators, killing at least two people.

The shooting brought the toll to at least 17 dead and more than 85 wounded in this week's anti-American protests in this conservative Sunni Muslim city 30 miles west of Baghdad.

The two sides gave widely divergent accounts of Wednesday's confrontation, as they did after Monday night's shootings. In both cases, U.S. officers said their soldiers were fired on first from among the crowds, but Iraqis denied it.

The shootings came as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld made a triumphant tour of Baghdad, becoming the first top-level administration official to visit the capital since it fell three weeks ago.

"You rescued a nation, you liberated a people, you deposed a cruel dictator," he told U.S. troops who sat atop helicopters, rocket launchers, artillery and tanks inside a hangar at Baghdad's international airport.

In Washington, the White House said President Bush is scheduled to declare the war effectively over tonight in a nationally televised address delivered from the deck of the aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln some 100 miles off the California coast.

"This is not a formal, legalistic ending of the conflict," said White House press secretary Ari Fleischer. "It is the fact that major combat operations have ended."

Self-appointed mayor

In Al-Fallujah, Americans hunkered down against hundreds of protesters angrily demanding their departure as a U.S. officer met with the city's self-appointed mayor to hear him demand that the Americans prosecute soldiers who fired into the crowd.

"We don't accept American troops, we don't accept American occupation," throngs of Iraqis chanted outside.

"Yes, yes for Islam; no to America, no to Saddam," they also chanted. A local imam, or prayer leader, led the chants.

Monday night, protests erupted outside a school that was being used as a barracks for U.S. soldiers. Soldiers said there were shots from the crowd, so they fired back, killing at least 15 Iraqis and wounding 75 others. Iraqis said Americans were the only ones firing.

Wednesday's shootings took place as about 1,000 Iraqis were protesting the Monday killings outside a Baath Party building being used as a U.S. headquarters.

TWO MORE IRAQIS SLAIN BY U.S. DURING PROTESTS;RUMSFELD MAKES TRIUMPHANT

When a six-vehicle convoy of U.S. Humvees and trucks roared up, the crowd began pelting them with shoes and stones. U.S. troops said someone shot at the convoy, and the Americans opened fire.

As in the demonstration Monday, residents said no one fired on the troops. "There were no weapons at all," said Sadoun Hamadi, 22, one of the demonstrators. "They just started shooting at us. We don't know why."

Outside agitators

Other residents, including a local imam, said some people did, in fact, fire at the Americans. The imam said the firing was not from the demonstrators, but from outside agitators.

Lt. Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment said the shootings were the result of "the evildoers deliberately placing at risk all of the good civilians."

"These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover," he said.

Green said the troops who fired were members of the 82nd Airborne Division.

Al-Fallujah is long a stronghold of support for Saddam. The city of 200,000 people benefited particularly from Saddam's Baathist government, toppled last month by the U.S.-led coalition.

The government built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Al-Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businesses. The city sent many of its young men to elite forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

Police Lt. Laith Ayad Abed said American troops did not arrive in Al-Fallujah until about 10 days after Baghdad fell. During that time, Al-Fallujah residents seized many weapons abandoned by the Iraqi army, including assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, armor-piercing rockets called SPG-9s, as well as Russian-made land mines, 82mm machine guns and cannons.

He said he did not doubt that residents would use them against Americans. "There were many people killed," he said, "and they have to avenge their deaths."

Al-Fallujah's mayor, who said he was "elected" at a meeting of the city's elders before the Americans arrived in town, said he, too, would expect people to fight if the U.S. troops remained in the city.

"Muslims don't care about death. If necessary, we will fight," said **Taha Bidawi al-Alwani**.

Alwani also accused the U.S. forces of "taunting the Iraqi people" by occupying schools and government buildings and blocking access to mosques.

"The people have the right to express themselves," Alwani said, sprinkling his comments with the word "occupation."

Rumsfeld meets troops

In Baghdad, Rumsfeld stepped out of the back of a military C-130 cargo plane about noon at what used to be known as Saddam International Airport after a flight from Basra, where he had sipped tea with a British general. He was greeted by Gen. William Wallace, commanding general of the U.S. Army's V Corps.

He paused to shake a few hands and pose for photographs with excited soldiers before getting into an armored Humvee.

His 15-vehicle convoy, including a large security detail, then drove into Baghdad for a tour of a power plant. Upon his return to the airport, Rumsfeld strode up to the stage and took the podium.

"What a sight!" he exclaimed, to loud applause.

He took a few digs at critics of the war, ranging from those who predicted that an American war in Iraq would descend into a quagmire to Iraq's former information minister, who had insisted American forces had been soundly defeated even as U.S. tanks were entering the capital.

"I have to admit, I'm surprised to see you here," Rumsfeld told the troops. "The world was told there were no Americans in Baghdad. Over and over."

But Rumsfeld acknowledged that much remains to be done. He said the remnants of Saddam's government "have to

TWO MORE IRAQIS SLAIN BY U.S. DURING PROTESTS;RUMSFELD MAKES TRIUMPHANT

be removed from every corner" and many of its former leaders still have to be found.

He volunteered to take questions from the soldiers but said he would not attempt to answer when they might be headed home, a question preoccupying men and women who in many cases arrived in the region months before the war began and waited out the diplomatic maneuvering that preceded it.

NOTES: IRAQ: THE AFTERMATH

Mercury News wire services contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: Photos (5);

PHOTO: HUSSEIN MALA — ASSOCIATED PRESS

DIFFERING VIEWS: U.S. troops open fire Wednesday on demonstrators in Al-Fallujah. U.S. officers said their soldiers were fired on first. Iraqis denied it.

PHOTO: HUSSEIN MALA — ASSOCIATED PRESS

MORE VIOLENCE: An Iraqi man lies dead as others, some injured, scramble Wednesday in Al-Fallujah.

PHOTO: ANGUS BEATON — GETTY IMAGES

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, right, is briefed by British Brig. Graham Binns, left, at the Basra airport Wednesday. Rumsfeld later flew on a military C-130 cargo plane to Baghdad.

PHOTO: MOISES SAMAN — NEWSDAY

Relatives and friends of 30-year-old Saleh al-Jumaily participate in his burial ceremony Wednesday in Al-Fallujah.

Jumaily was reportedly killed by U.S. troops firing on anti-American protesters.

PHOTO: MARIO TAMA — GETTY IMAGES

Baghdad drivers wait in traffic caused by lines at one of the few filling stations operating Wednesday.

LOAD-DATE: July 28, 2005

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Copyright 2003 The Scotsman Publications Ltd.
The ScotsmanMay 1, 2003, Thursday**SECTION:** Pg. 13**LENGTH:** 718 words**HEADLINE:** BUSH DECIDES WAR'S MAJOR COMBAT IS OVER**BYLINE:** Jeanette Oldham**BODY:**

GEORGE Bush, the US president, will address the American people from the deck of an aircraft carrier tomorrow morning to announce that "major combat" in Iraq is over, but he will stop short of declaring an end to the war, his spokesman confirmed last night.

Mr Bush will make the address from the deck of the Abraham Lincoln as it steams towards San Diego, on the US Pacific coast.

"He will address the nation just as he did at the beginning of the conflict," the White House press secretary, Ari Fleischer, said.

Mr Bush will stop short of either declaring victory or saying the war is over because pockets of resistance remain and some key missions are unfulfilled, Mr Fleischer said.

Under the Geneva Conventions on the conduct of military conflict, once war is declared over, the victorious army must release prisoners of war and halt operations targeting specific leaders.

Mr Bush's declaration will come amid increasing concern that US forces are struggling to win the peace.

Yesterday, US forces opened fire on Iraqi civilians in the town of Fallujah for the second time in a week. A local hospital official reported that two men had been killed, with at least eight people being treated for wounds.

It comes less than two days after soldiers opened fire on another protest in the town, a Baath party stronghold 30 miles west of Baghdad, which hospital reports say killed 13.

About 1,000 residents were marching down Fallujah's main street and stopped in front of a battalion headquarters of the US army's 82nd Airborne Division, in a compound formerly occupied by Saddam Hussein's Baath party. The demonstrators, who were carrying signs condemning Monday night's shooting, started throwing stones and shoes at the compound. Troops opened fire, scattering the demonstrators.

Major Michael Marti, an intelligence officer for the division's 2nd Brigade, said soldiers in a passing convoy had fired on the crowd after stones were thrown at them and a vehicle's window shot through.

He said demonstrators "started throwing rocks and then at one point, they soldiers were engaged by what they believed was an AK-47".

Captain Jeff Wilbur, a civil affairs officer, said troops stationed in the compound began shooting after troops from the convoy opened fire.

Lieutenant Colonel Tobin Green, commander of the 2nd squadron of the 3rd Armoured Cavalry Regiment, which is taking over from the 82nd Airborne in Fallujah, said the six-vehicle convoy was shot at and responded with gunfire.

"The evil-doers are deliberately placing at risk the good civilians. These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover," said Col Green, whose regiment came to Iraq from Fort Carson, Colorado, three weeks ago.

BUSH DECIDES WAR'S MAJOR COMBAT IS OVER The Scotsman May 1, 2003, T

City officials, who witnessed the incident, say they heard no gunfire coming from the crowd.

Fallujah's mayor, **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, said two people were killed and 14 wounded, and asked for an investigation and compensation for the victims. He added US soldiers have been asked to stay away from mosques, residential areas and other sensitive places. The US forces agreed to study the request.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces. And many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions," said Mr Alwani, a former Iraqi exile and opponent of the previous regime.

Meanwhile, Geoff Hoon, the Defence Secretary, yesterday announced that almost 1,000 soldiers from Scottish regiments are to be sent to the Gulf for stabilisation and peacekeeping duties.

The King's Own Scottish Borderers and 40 Regiment Royal Artillery, otherwise known as the Lowland Gunners, are part of 19 Mechanised Brigade, which is preparing to go to Iraq.

Mr Hoon announced the plans yesterday as he revealed that a further 3,500 ground troops are to return from the Gulf to the UK after an initial withdrawal earlier this month.

They include about 470 specialist Royal Marines personnel from 45 Commando, based at RM Condor in Arbroath.

There is no set date for the withdrawal of the 1st Battalion the Black Watch and the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards, part of 7th Armoured Brigade.

But a spokeswoman for the Ministry of Defence in Scotland said they will return home as soon as possible.

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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LOAD-DATE: May 2, 2003

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The Star Phoenix (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)

May 1, 2003 Thursday Final Edition

SECTION: World; Pg. D7

LENGTH: 480 words

HEADLINE: U.S. troops fire again on protesting Iraqis: Rumsfeld tours Saddam's palaces in Baghdad

SOURCE: Associated Press

DATELINE: BAGHDAD

BODY:

BAGHDAD (AP) — For the second time this week, U.S. soldiers fired on anti-American protesters Wednesday in the city of Fallujah; the mayor said two people were killed and 18 wounded. The White House said Wednesday that U.S. President George W. Bush planned to speak to the nation later this week to announce that major combat in Iraq had ended.

Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld became the first top Bush administration official to visit Iraq since Saddam Hussein's ouster.

Bush, to deliver his speech tonight from the returning aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln while it was still at sea, would neither declare victory nor declare the war to be over, said White House press secretary Ari Fleischer.

Rumsfeld told U.S. troops at Baghdad's airport: "We want the Iraqi people to live in freedom so they can build a future where the Iraqi leaders answer to the Iraqi people rather than killing them."

He also taped a broadcast message to Iraqis saying the United States is eager to return the country to their control.

Rumsfeld told the troops that the Bush administration is using diplomatic efforts to encourage countries to turn over wanted Iraqis to U.S. authorities, and that some nations are no longer taking in fugitives.

The shooting in Fallujah, 50 kilometres west of Baghdad, occurred less than 48 hours after gunfire during a demonstration Monday night that hospital officials said killed 13 Iraqis.

About 1,000 people marched down the city's main street Wednesday to protest the earlier incident, stopping in front of a battalion headquarters of the U.S. army's 82nd Airborne Division — a former office of Saddam's Baath party.

American officers at the scene, and U.S. Central Command in Qatar, said U.S. soldiers in the compound and in a passing convoy opened fire in response to rock-throwing and gunfire.

"The evil-doers are deliberately placing at risk the good civilians," said Lt.-Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armoured Cavalry Regiment. "These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover."

During the march, and for hours afterward, U.S. Apache attack helicopters circled the site, barely skimming the tops of the tiled-roof minarets of Fallujah's mosques.

Fallujah's mayor, **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, said two people were killed and 14 wounded, and he asked for an investigation and compensation for the victims.

He added that U.S. soldiers have been asked to stay away from mosques, residential areas and other sensitive places; the Americans agreed to study the request.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces. And many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions,"

U.S. troops fire again on protesting Iraqis: Rumsfeld tours Saddam'

said al-Alwani, a former Iraqi exile and opponent of Saddam's regime.

Local officials in Fallujah — a conservative Sunni Muslim city and Baath party stronghold — said they saw or heard no shooting from among the protesters.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Associated Press; American troops open fire on demonstrators in Fallujah for the second time...; Photo: Associated Press; ...this week as Iraqis marched Wednesday to protest the previous day's shooting

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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The Star-Ledger Newark, NJ

May 1, 2003 Thursday
FINAL Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 001

LENGTH: 1008 words

HEADLINE: NEW, RISKY MISSION FOR TROOPS - Iraq clashes show perils U.S. faces as a peacekeeper

BYLINE: J. SCOTT ORR, STAR-LEDGER WASHINGTON BUREAU

BODY:

As President Bush prepares to announce tonight that major combat operations have ended in Iraq, U.S. troops in the leaderless country already have begun the transition from war fighters to street cops.

Such shifts in military responsibilities are rarely smooth, according to experts who see the deadly clashes between U.S. combat troops and anti-American demonstrators in Fallujah this week as unfortunate side effects of a mission in transition.

"In the most basic sense, they are transitioning from war fighters where they have a combat role into something more akin to being policemen. This is particularly difficult in Iraq, which is not your typical peacekeeping operation," said Dennis Jett, dean of the International Center at the University of Florida.

"The problem is it's a situation that has been imposed from the outside by the U.S. . . . We aren't there because we were asked to come in and keep the peace," said Jett, a former U.S. ambassador to Peru and Mozambique and the author of "Why Peacekeeping Fails."

There are other complicating factors as well, experts say, including a population that is divided along religious and ethnic lines.

At the same time, soldiers who just weeks ago were involved in combat against Iraqi troops are now being asked to patrol civilian populations within which potential enemies are not so easily identified.

Often, the line between combat and peacekeeping missions can be blurred.

"Sometimes there's a long period of time after major hostilities are over before conditions have changed enough to allow the rules of engagement to change from combat operations to security operations," said retired Lt. Col. Arthur S. DeGroat, a decorated veteran of the 1991 Persian Gulf War who now heads the military science department at Kansas State University. "Those rules of engagement may, or may not, have changed yet."

In Fallujah, U.S. forces fired on demonstrators for the second straight day yesterday. Local Iraqi officials in the town 30 miles west of Baghdad said the clashes have killed more than a dozen civilians. U.S. Central Command in Qatar disputed the death toll and said the American troops were defending themselves against hostile fire from the demonstrators.

Hoping to ease tensions, U.S. officials met yesterday with Fallujah Mayor Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, who asked that troops steer clear of mosques, residential neighborhoods and other sensitive areas.

Whatever the facts about the bloodshed in Fallujah, the skirmishes point up the perils that can face combat soldiers when they are forced to become peacekeepers.

NEW, RISKY MISSION FOR TROOPS - Iraq clashes show perils U.S. faces as a

Almost since they entered Iraq on March 19, U.S. forces have faced a variety of threats in addition to conventional combat, including false surrenders, gunmen in civilian clothes and suicide car bombers. Once they took control of Baghdad and other cities, troops have had to deal with demonstrations and civil disturbances, widespread looting and internal jockeying for power among ethnic and political factions.

In recent conflicts, the United States has had help with postwar security. In Afghanistan, for example, U.S. troops are supported by the new government of Hamid Karzai. The 1999 mission to oust Slobodan Milosevic from Kosovo was carried out by NATO forces, which continue to help keep the peace there, while in Bosnia a 1995 peace accord continues to be enforced by United Nations peacekeepers.

"Iraq is similar to other recent examples in that we have to rebuild government and legal institutions. The difference is this time we are doing it unilaterally," said Robert Rubenstein, a professor at the Maxwell School at Syracuse University and the author of "The Social Dynamics of Peace and War: Culture and International Security."

"There certainly should be a multilateral postwar mission there. The longer the U.S. stays there and tries to control what's happening in running the administration of Iraq unilaterally, the less likely it is that a new government will take hold," he said.

Yesterday in London, military officers from about a dozen countries met to discuss setting up a multinational force that could pick up some of the security duties in Iraq from American and British combat troops. The British defense ministry said the meeting was designed to determine which countries would be willing to contribute personnel.

American and British forces have been welcomed by some Iraqis, particularly Kurds in the north and Shi'as in the south that had been persecuted under the regime of fallen dictator Saddam Hussein. In areas such as Fallujah, a stronghold of Saddam's Ba'ath Party and Sunni Muslims, the welcome has not been as warm.

And even among populations that welcomed the end of Saddam's regime, Iraqis have called for a quick end to the U.S. occupation and a swift transition to a new local administration.

"Military peacekeepers inevitably are foreigners who are not always welcomed. You have to have a gradual transition to a civilian police force made up of indigenous personnel," said Harvey Langholtz, a professor at the College of William and Mary and the author of "The Psychology of Peacekeeping."

That next transition, Langholtz said, can take time, requiring the establishment of a new government and a new legal system before local police can take over. At the same time, each individual soldier must undergo his or her own inner transition.

"A peacekeeper doesn't have a clearly defined foe and he cannot simply use escalating force all the time as a solution. As police, they have to use diplomacy, tact, persuasion and psychology. It's not a simple transition," he said.

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, meeting with troops in Baghdad yesterday, said the peacekeeping mission will continue as an interim government is established and Iraq is rebuilt. In the meantime, he said, U.S. troops will be seeking out the remnants of Saddam's regime, rooting out terrorists and looking for weapons.

"While you folks have accomplished a great deal," Rumsfeld told the troops, "there is still some work to do."

GRAPHIC: 1. U.S. troops open fire on demonstrators in Fallujah, Iraq, yesterday for the second time this week as Iraqis march in protest of the first shooting. Local officials said the two clashes killed more than a dozen civilians. U.S. Central Command disputed the death toll. See story, Page 12.

LOAD-DATE: April 28, 2005

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Copyright 2003 Times Newspapers Limited
The Times (London)May 1, 2003, Thursday**SECTION:** Overseas news; 21**LENGTH:** 744 words**HEADLINE:** Mob fury as US soldiers shoot two protesters dead**BYLINE:** Catherine Philp**BODY:**

Catherine Philp watches as, for the second time in three days, troops open fire on anti-American crowds

American soldiers opened fire on protesters in Fallujah yesterday for the second time in less than three days, killing two and wounding a dozen more.

The shootings occurred as residents marched through the streets, demanding the withdrawal of American forces from the town.

The demonstration yesterday morning was called by local religious leaders to put pressure on the Americans to leave. Growing tensions with the local population had been aggravated by the shooting on Monday of 13 civilians outside a school that was being used as a military base. More than 1,000 demonstrators were marching yesterday on the former Baath party headquarters in the town, where American troops had taken up their positions, when an armoured patrol tried to force its way past.

Demonstrators say that a brick was thrown at one of the vehicles; American military officials insist that bullets were fired from the crowd.

Whichever was true, jittery forces immediately opened fire on the protesters from their vehicles and from inside the compound, killing two and wounding 12.

The crowd scattered and the wounded were rushed to hospital, but within an hour the protesters had regrouped again outside the compound, baying for the Americans to withdraw as the troops sat behind coils of razor wire, nervously eyeing the crowd.

"There is no God but Allah!" the protesters chanted, sitting in the street, as a fresh convoy of American troops rumbled along the street towards them.

As the tanks approached, the protesters surged forward, screaming at the soldiers and hurling their shoes at the tanks, a grave insult in Islamic culture.

"With our souls and our blood we sacrifice Islam," they chanted, carrying a local mullah on their shoulders towards the column of tanks.

The tanks screeched to a halt and quickly reversed, crushing a traffic reservation in their haste to reroute. Then the crowd turned their anger on the soldiers stationed inside the compound, shouting: "You are killers. Go, go home!" American military officials blamed infiltrators for the incident, but acknowledged that they may have killed innocent civilians while responding to what they insisted was enemy fire.

"The evil-doers are deliberately placing at risk the good civilians," Lieutenant-Colonel Tobin Green, of the 3rd Armoured Cavalry Regiment, said. "These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover."

Whatever the background, there is no denying the tensions that exist between the local population and US troops,

Mob fury as US soldiers shoot two protesters dead The Times (London) Ma

who moved in only last Friday, supplanting the local security committee's efforts to keep law and order.

Residents insist that their opposition to the troops' presence is grounded in religious belief and not support for Saddam Hussein, despite his previous popularity here.

During his rule, Fallujah was a stronghold of the ruling Baath party and the fall of the dictator has severely threatened the city's network of privilege and power.

Religious leaders have led the charges against the Americans, accusing them of myriad crimes, from surreptitiously watching local women through their binoculars to distributing pornographic pictures to schoolchildren.

Those charges, however, have been overtaken by the killing and wounding of civilian protesters over the past three days. Residents insist that there were no security problems in Fallujah before the arrival of the Americans and that there is no cause for them to stay.

"The fighting will go on day by day here until the Americans leave," one protester said, shaking his fist at the gate of the American compound.

Military officials confirmed that about 100 soldiers involved in the first shooting had vacated the primary school compound and had left the city, but they said that no more troops would be withdrawn. The mayor of Fallujah, a former Iraqi exile appointed after the fall of the old regime, said that he had told the Americans not to provoke people by occupying sensitive areas such as mosques and schools for fear of further violence.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces. And many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions," Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani said.

He met American officials yesterday to demand an investigation into the shootings and to request compensation for the victims.

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Gannett Company, Inc.
USA TODAYMay 1, 2003, Thursday, FINAL EDITION**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 1A**LENGTH:** 649 words**HEADLINE:** U.S. not ready to say war is over**BYLINE:** Judy Keen and Richard Benedetto**DATELINE:** WASHINGTON**BODY:**

WASHINGTON — President Bush will tell the nation tonight that Iraq has been liberated, but he won't say the war is over, aides say. Under international law, a declaration of victory would require release of Iraqi prisoners of war and bar U.S. forces from trying to kill Saddam Hussein — if he's not already dead.

The White House has asked TV networks to carry Bush's remarks at 9 p.m. ET. He'll speak from the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln as it heads toward San Diego. The carrier has been deployed since July 20. The president will sleep on the ship and fly ashore Friday before it docks.

Bush will describe "what was at stake, what has been accomplished" in Iraq "so we can all join together in saying thanks to the men and women of our armed forces who helped achieve this remarkable success," White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said.

The president will say "major combat operations" have ended, Fleischer said, but "there are pockets of resistance, there continue to be Iraqis who shoot at America's armed forces." Fleischer said he could not predict "when, from a formal legal sense, hostilities will be deemed to be over."

U.S. troops fired on demonstrators Wednesday in Fallujah, Iraq, for the second time this week. The U.S. Central Command said some people threw rocks and fired on a military convoy, which returned fire. Mayor **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani** said two men were killed. He urged the Americans to withdraw to ease tensions.

Wednesday's violence came as Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld became the highest-ranking U.S. civilian to visit Baghdad since Saddam was chased from power April 9. He recorded a message to be broadcast to Iraqis: "Let me be clear — Iraq belongs to you. The coalition has no intention of owning or running Iraq."

Seeking to emphasize progress in restoring services such as electricity and water, Rumsfeld visited a power-generating plant south of Baghdad. Engineers said power has been restored in about half of the city.

As for Bush's remarks tonight, if he were to make the end of the conflict official, postwar provisions in the Geneva Conventions would take effect. The conventions are a series of international agreements, first written in Geneva in 1864, that define the conduct of war and its aftermath and the treatment of prisoners.

The Geneva Conventions and other international humanitarian laws, including the 1907 Hague Convention governing the conduct of war, require:

- * The release and repatriation of prisoners of war "without delay after the cessation of active hostilities" unless they are prosecuted. U.S. forces have held more than 7,000 Iraqi prisoners of war and released 900 of them on April 18.

- * The targeting of enemy commanders only during armed conflict. The Hague Convention says, "It is especially forbidden . . . to kill or wound treacherously, individuals belonging to the hostile nation or army." Military legal analysts say targeting military leaders during wartime is not considered treachery.

U.S. not ready to say war is over USA TODAY May 1, 2003, Thursday,

Since 1976, U.S. presidents have endorsed an executive order banning political assassinations. That order does not apply to wartime, when leaders are considered legitimate military targets.

Already in effect for U.S. forces in Iraq are broad responsibilities spelled out in international law for an "occupying power." Those duties include the restoration and maintenance of public order and safety. Food and medical care must be provided, and relief workers must be protected.

Formal surrenders and peace treaties marked the end of World Wars I and II, but there was no treaty after the Korean War, only an armistice. At the end of the first war with Iraq in 1991, the senior President Bush announced a cease-fire, and Saddam agreed to most terms demanded by the United Nations.

Contributing: Vivienne Walt in Fallujah, Iraq

LOAD-DATE: May 01, 2003

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April 30, 2003, Wednesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 578 words

HEADLINE: U.S. troops open fire for second time this week in tense Iraqi town; one Iraqi reported dead

BYLINE: By CHARLES J. HANLEY, AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

U.S. troops opened fire on anti-American demonstrators for the second time this week as Iraqis marched Wednesday to protest the previous shooting. The local hospital said one person was killed and at least 16 others wounded.

The gunfire came less than 48 hours after a shooting during a demonstration Monday night that hospital officials said killed 13 Iraqis.

There was no immediate indication of any American casualties.

The clashes in Fallujah, a conservative Sunni Muslim city and Baath Party stronghold 30 miles west of Baghdad, reflect the area's increasing tensions as American troops try to keep the peace in Iraq.

About 1,000 residents marching down Fallujah's main street stopped in front of a battalion headquarters of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division, in a compound formerly occupied by Saddam Hussein's Baath Party. The demonstrators were carrying signs condemning Monday night's shooting.

Protesters started throwing rocks and shoes at the compound and troops opened fire about 10:30 a.m., scattering the demonstrators. Protesters then returned to pick up the wounded.

Medical staff at the Fallujah hospital said a 30-year-old man was killed, another man was in critical condition and 15 others were wounded.

Maj. Michael Marti, an intelligence officer for the division's 2nd Brigade, said soldiers in a passing convoy fired on the crowd after rocks were thrown at them and a vehicle window was broken by what was believed to be automatic weapons fire.

As the convoy was passing, the demonstrators "started throwing rocks and then at one point, they (soldiers) were engaged by what they believed was an AK-47" and opened fire, said Marti, of Archbold, Ohio.

Capt. Jeff Wilbur, a civil affairs officer, said the fire from the convoy was followed by soldiers opening fire from the compound.

City officials who witnessed the gunfire said they saw or heard no shooting from among the protesters.

U.S. Apache attack helicopters circled the site throughout the march and for hours afterwards. U.S. officers met with Fallujah mayor Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani and leading area sheiks in hopes of reducing the tensions, while several dozen demonstrators clustered angrily outside the town hall.

U.S. troops open fire for second time this week in tense Iraqi town; one

"Get out, get out!" one protester shouted at soldiers guarding the meeting.

"We will keep this up, we will keep them on edge," said another protester, 29-year-old Abdul Adim Mohammed Hussein.

Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said "The Americans said 'we won't reduce the numbers, they're needed for security.' But the people of Fallujah told them we already have security."

The American forces have given no indication they might reduce their presence in Fallujah, the site of factories suspected of being linked to banned weapons programs for Saddam's regime. However, U.S. forces did leave their station at the school where Monday's shooting took place.

Americans and Iraqis have given sharply differing accounts of Monday night's shooting. Paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne said they opened fire only upon armed men – about 25 infiltrators among a crowd of 200. Protesters insisted their demonstration was unarmed and peaceful.

Dr. Ahmed Ghandim al-Ali, director of Fallujah's general hospital, said the clash Monday killed 13 Iraqis – including three young boys – and injured about 75. Some residents put the death toll higher, at 15.

No Americans were injured.

GRAPHIC: AP Graphic IRAQ SHOOTING

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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April 30, 2003, Wednesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 1127 words

BODY:

U.S. troops again fire on anti-American protesters; Rumsfeld visits Baghdad

Eds: LEADS with 6 grafs to UPDATE with Bush to announce on Thursday that major combat in Iraq had ended. Picks up 6th graf pvs bgng 'The shooting,'

AP Photos BAG103,106 TOK803,804, XDG104, LON103-104

AP Graphic IRAQ SHOOTING

By NIKO PRICE

Associated Press Writer

BAGHDAD, Iraq (AP) - For the second time this week, U.S. soldiers fired on anti-American protesters Wednesday in the city of Fallujah; the mayor said two people were killed and 14 wounded. President Bush planned to speak to the nation later this week to announce that major combat in Iraq had ended.

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American officers at the scene, and U.S. Central Command in Qatar, said U.S. soldiers in the compound and in a passing convoy opened fire in response to rock-throwing and gunfire.

"The evildoers are deliberately placing at risk the good civilians," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment. "These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover."

The Associated Press April 30, 2003, Wednesday, BC cycle

During the march, and for hours afterward, U.S. Apache attack helicopters circled the site, barely skimming the tops of the tiled-roof minarets of Fallujah's mosques.

Fallujah's mayor, **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, said two people were killed and 14 wounded, and he asked for an investigation and compensation for the victims. He added that U.S. soldiers have been asked to stay away from mosques, residential areas and other sensitive places; the Americans agreed to study the request.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces. And many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions," said al-Alwani, a former Iraqi exile and opponent of Saddam's regime.

Local officials in Fallujah – a conservative Sunni Muslim city and Baath Party stronghold – said they saw or heard no shooting from among the protesters.

The incident, coupled with the deaths Monday outside a school in Fallujah, are increasing tension as American forces try to keep the peace in Iraq and win the trust of its people.

U.S. officers met with Fallujah's mayor and local Muslims clerics in hopes of averting further violence. Several dozen demonstrators clustered angrily outside the town hall where the talks took place; "Get out, get out," some chanted.

Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said the Americans insisted the U.S. troops were needed to provide security, "but the people of Fallujah told them we already have security."

In the incident Monday night, U.S. Central Command said paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne were shot at by about 25 armed civilians mixed within an estimated 200 protesters outside a compound troops were occupying. Demonstrators said no gunfire came from their ranks.

Rumsfeld, nearing the end of a trip to several Persian Gulf countries, flew to Baghdad after joining a British commander, Maj. Gen. Robin Brims, for a briefing in Basra on military operations in southern Iraq.

"A number of human beings have been liberated and they are out from under the heel of a vicious, brutal regime," Rumsfeld said. "I'm very pleased that the United States and the United Kingdom worked so well together."

In Baghdad, Rumsfeld said coalition forces are committed to restoring order and basic services for Iraqis and helping them form a new government. He asked Iraqis to tell coalition soldiers about former Iraqi officials and foreign fighters who might still be in their neighborhoods.

Rumsfeld also met with Jay Garner, the retired Army general serving as civilian administrator of Iraq until a new government is established.

One of the unresolved issues confronting U.S. officials is whether Saddam's regime did in fact possess illegal weapons of mass destruction, as the Bush administration contended.

U.S. officials said Tuesday that high-ranking Iraqis now in custody are uniformly denying that Saddam's government had any biological, chemical or nuclear weapons. The officials said they believe many of the prisoners are lying to protect themselves.

American officials stand by their belief that Iraq possessed prohibited weapons and the means to make more. They have suggested that the weapons were well hidden or destroyed shortly before the war.

In London, British Prime Minister Tony Blair predicted Wednesday that those who believe Saddam possessed no weapons of mass destruction will be left "eating some of their words" when the banned arms are found.

"I am absolutely convinced and confident about the case on weapons of mass destruction," Blair told the House of Commons.

In other developments:

–Coalition forces have taken custody of the former governor of Basra after he surrendered to the anti-Saddam Iraqi National Congress in Baghdad, U.S. Central Command confirmed Wednesday.

Walid Hamed Tawfiq al-Tikriti, a member of Saddam's clan, surrendered Tuesday. He was No. 44 on the U.S. military's most-wanted list of 55 Iraqi officials.

–Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, in a speech, said imposing foreign political standards on Iraq would not

The Associated Press April 30, 2003, Wednesday, BC cycle

necessarily lead to democracy, or lessen fanaticism, in the Arab and Islamic worlds.

He said those advocating such changes are "intentionally ignoring ... that Arab nations are working hard to achieve democracy according to their own standards."

"We reject the philosophy of imposing democracy by force," Mubarak said.

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April 30, 2003, Wednesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 796 words

HEADLINE: U.S. troops open fire for second time this week in tense Iraqi town; two Iraqis reported dead

BYLINE: By CHARLES J. HANLEY, AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

U.S. troops opened fire on anti-American demonstrators for the second time this week as Iraqis marched Wednesday to protest the previous shooting. The city's mayor said two people were killed and 14 wounded in the clash.

U.S. Central Command said soldiers in a convoy passing the demonstrators were shot at, and then returned fire. But city officials who witnessed the incident said they saw or heard no shooting from among the protesters.

There was no immediate indication of American casualties.

The gunfire came less than 48 hours after a shooting during a demonstration Monday night that hospital officials said killed 13 Iraqis.

The clashes in Fallujah, a conservative Sunni Muslim city and Baath Party stronghold 30 miles west of Baghdad, reflect the area's increasing tensions as American troops try to keep the peace in Iraq.

About 1,000 residents marching down Fallujah's main street stopped Wednesday in front of a battalion headquarters of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division, in a compound formerly occupied by Saddam Hussein's Baath Party. The demonstrators carried signs condemning Monday night's shooting.

This was no peaceful demonstration, the Americans insisted. They said protesters threw rocks and shoes; Maj. Michael Marti, an intelligence officer for the division's 2nd Brigade, said a vehicle window was broken by what was believed to be automatic weapons fire.

Lt. Col. Tobin Green, commander of the 2nd squadron of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, which is taking over from the 82nd Airborne in Fallujah, said a six-vehicle convoy was shot at and responded with gunfire.

"The evildoers are deliberately placing at risk the good civilians. These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover," said Green.

U.S. Central Command in Doha, Qatar, said American forces fired in response to rock-throwing and weapons fire.

"The convoy returned fire, and the crowd was dispersed by the arrival of coalition helicopters," said Capt. Stewart Upton, a Central Command spokesman.

Fallujah Mayor Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani said two people were killed and 14 wounded and asked for an investigation and compensation for victims.

U.S. troops open fire for second time this week in tense Iraqi town; two

After a meeting Wednesday with U.S. troops, the mayor said U.S. soldiers have been asked to stay away from mosques, residential areas and other sensitive places. The Americans agreed to study the request.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces. And many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions," said al-Alwani, a former Iraqi exile and opponent of the previous regime.

U.S. Apache attack helicopters circled the site throughout the march and for hours afterward, barely skimming the tops of the tiled-roof minarets of Fallujah, known as "the city of mosques."

U.S. officers met with the mayor and leading area sheiks in hopes of reducing the tensions, while several dozen demonstrators clustered angrily outside the town hall.

"Get out, get out!" one protester shouted at soldiers guarding the meeting.

"We will keep this up, we will keep them on edge," said another protester, 29-year-old Abdul Adim Mohammed Hussein.

Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said "The Americans said 'we won't reduce the numbers, they're needed for security.' But the people of Fallujah told them we already have security."

During Saddam's rule, Fallujah was a stronghold of the ruling Baath Party, in part because of the presence of key chemical and other factories of the regime's military-industrial complex that provided jobs to workers and generated wealth to local businessmen.

Fallujah sent many of its young men to elite regime units such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard, and the fall of Saddam threatens the city's network of privilege and power.

The American forces have given no indication they might cut back their presence here. However, U.S. forces did leave their station at the school where Monday's shooting took place.

From the back of a pickup truck, Jamal addressed a crowd of 250 people Wednesday.

"We demand the Americans leave this place," Jamal said. "(But) please don't confront the U.S. troops."

As they did after Wednesday's incident, Americans and Iraqis have given sharply differing accounts of Monday night's shooting.

Paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne said they opened fire only upon armed men – about 25 infiltrators among a crowd of 200. Protesters insisted their demonstration was unarmed and peaceful.

Dr. Ahmed Ghandim al-Ali, director of Fallujah's general hospital, said the clash Monday killed 13 Iraqis – including three young boys – and injured about 75. Some residents put the death toll higher, at 15.

No Americans were injured.

GRAPHIC: AP Graphic IRAQ SHOOTING

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April 30, 2003, Wednesday, BC cycle
Correction Appended

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 864 words

HEADLINE: More protesters fall to U.S. guns in Fallujah; commander says Americans will remain

BYLINE: By CHARLES J. HANLEY, AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

American troops again fired on anti-U.S. protesters in Fallujah's streets Wednesday and said they won't give up their foothold in the one-time Baath Party bastion. At least two were killed and 18 wounded, hospital officials reported.

In a bloodier episode Monday night, 15 protesters and bystanders were killed, and at least 50 wounded, officials said. In both cases, U.S. officers - and the U.S. Central Command - said their soldiers were fired on first from among the crowds.

But Iraqis denied it, and no weapons or suspects have been produced.

After Wednesday's shootings, a U.S. Army colonel said his forces will remain here "to help the city stabilize." Residents repeatedly said they want the Americans at least to withdraw to the city's outskirts.

Some were threatening. "Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kill you," read an angry banner in English unfurled in the faces of GIs on guard in the central city.

This week's Fallujah bloodshed, in large part the result of clashes between a foreign force and a traditional Muslim society, underscores the military's challenge in a land where many say they will resist any foreign hand that tries to control them.

The resistance may be especially sharp in Fallujah, a city of 200,000 people 30 miles west of Baghdad, because it benefited particularly from Saddam Hussein's Baath regime, toppled last month by the U.S.-led coalition.

The regime built chemical and other factories that generated jobs for Fallujah's workers and wealth for its businessmen. The city sent many of its young men to elite regime forces such as the Republican Guard and Special Republican Guard.

An indication of the city's fealty to the old regime: Air Force Maj. Gen. Gene Renuart, Central Command's operations director, said Monday's demonstration was apparently in celebration of Saddam's birthday.

Wednesday's violence occurred at the climax of a march by 1,000 men protesting the earlier shootings, which took place at a Fallujah school taken over for a time by a company of the 82nd Airborne Division.

The marchers, mostly young men in sandals and ankle-length dishdashas, halted on Fallujah's main avenue before a former police compound used as an 82nd Airborne command post.

A flier they distributed denounced Monday night's shootings, in which children were among the dead, as a "vicious

More protesters fall to U.S. guns in Fallujah; commander says Americans

and unprecedented crime," and demanded punishment for those responsible.

Overhead in the hot, clear skies, Army Apache helicopters circled, barely skimming the blue tile-topped minarets of Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim city known for its many mosques.

Within minutes, the protesters were throwing stones – and then shoes – some 30 yards toward U.S. soldiers hunkered down behind sandbags in the compound. A six-vehicle U.S. Army convoy then ventured past, between the protesters and the U.S. compound.

Suddenly gunfire erupted, though it wasn't clear from where. From atop one vehicle, a soldier fired a mounted machine gun toward the crowd. Other automatic fire came from paratroopers inside the compound. The marchers, panicked, dropped their banners and fled for the safety of side streets. Some stopped to pick up fallen friends.

It lasted less than a minute. Doctors later said the two dead men suffered head wounds.

American officers said someone in the crowd fired a weapon at the convoy.

"There was gunfire by at least one person," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green, a squadron commander in the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, whose troops were in Fallujah to take control from the 82nd Airborne.

Iraqi witnesses denied there was any gunfire from the crowd. "The Americans inside the compound just fired randomly," Khazal Abdul Hadi, 44, a marcher wounded in the leg, said from his hospital bed.

After Monday night's bloodshed, too, officers said the American barrage was justified return fire. "Everything was within the rules of engagement," said Capt. Jeff Wilbur, an 82nd Airborne civil affairs officer. "There'll be no formal investigation."

Local leaders were unsatisfied. "We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized mayor of Fallujah.

At a meeting with U.S. officers, al-Alwani and local religious and clan leaders also asked that troops be redeployed outside the city center. In one move, the paratrooper company has left the disputed school.

Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers who gaze on Fallujah women and make seemingly rude comments, who they think mock the way Iraqis dress, and whose goggles or binoculars have some locals convinced they are "seeing" through curtains or clothing.

Green said the U.S. troops were here to help restore security in the aftermath of war. At the meeting, "we provided them with some guidance about what we intend to do to help the city stabilize," he said.

The mayor told reporters it would be "difficult" for the Americans to leave, but he said most residents oppose their presence.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces," he said, "and many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions."

CORRECTION-DATE: May 14, 2003, Wednesday

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GRAPHIC: AP Photos XDG101-106,110,113,114,116

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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April 30, 2003 Wednesday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

LENGTH: 1058 words

HEADLINE: More Protest Violence Hits Iraqi Town

BYLINE: NIKO PRICE; Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: BAGHDAD, Iraq

BODY:

For the second time this week, U.S. soldiers fired on anti-American protesters Wednesday in the city of Fallujah; the mayor said two people were killed and 14 wounded. President Bush planned to speak to the nation later this week to announce that major combat in Iraq had ended.

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Bush, to deliver his speech Thursday night from the returning aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln while it was still at sea, would neither declare victory nor declare the war to be over, said White House press secretary Ari Fleischer.

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American officers at the scene, and U.S. Central Command in Qatar, said U.S. soldiers in the compound and in a passing convoy opened fire in response to rock-throwing and gunfire.

"The evildoers are deliberately placing at risk the good civilians," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment. "These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover."

During the march, and for hours afterward, U.S. Apache attack helicopters circled the site, barely skimming the tops of the tiled-roof minarets of Fallujah's mosques.

Fallujah's mayor, Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, said two people were killed and 14 wounded, and he asked for an investigation and compensation for the victims. He added that U.S. soldiers have been asked to stay away from mosques, residential areas and other sensitive places; the Americans agreed to study the request.

More Protest Violence Hits Iraqi Town Associated Press Online April 30,

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The incident, coupled with the deaths Monday outside a school in Fallujah, are increasing tension as American forces try to keep the peace in Iraq and win the trust of its people.

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Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said the Americans insisted the U.S. troops were needed to provide security, "but the people of Fallujah told them we already have security."

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More Protest Violence Hits Iraqi Town Associated Press Online April 30,

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April 30, 2003 Wednesday
Correction Appended

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

LENGTH: 860 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Troops Fire on Iraq Protesters Again

BYLINE: CHARLES J. HANLEY; AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

American troops again fired on anti-U.S. protesters in Fallujah's streets Wednesday and said they won't give up their foothold in the one-time Baath Party bastion. At least two were killed and 18 wounded, hospital officials reported.

In a bloodier episode Monday night, 15 protesters and bystanders were killed, and at least 50 wounded, officials said. In both cases, U.S. officers - and the U.S. Central Command - said their soldiers were fired on first from among the crowds.

But Iraqis denied it, and no weapons or suspects have been produced.

After Wednesday's shootings, a U.S. Army colonel said his forces will remain here "to help the city stabilize." Residents repeatedly said they want the Americans at least to withdraw to the city's outskirts.

Some were threatening. "Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kill you," read an angry banner in English unfurled in the faces of GIs on guard in the central city.

This week's Fallujah bloodshed, in large part the result of clashes between a foreign force and a traditional Muslim society, underscores the military's challenge in a land where many say they will resist any foreign hand that tries to control them.

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U.S. Troops Fire on Iraq Protesters Again Associated Press Online April

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Within minutes, the protesters were throwing stones – and then shoes – some 30 yards toward U.S. soldiers hunkered down behind sandbags in the compound. A six-vehicle U.S. Army convoy then ventured past, between the protesters and the U.S. compound.

Suddenly gunfire erupted, though it wasn't clear from where. From atop one vehicle, a soldier fired a mounted machine gun toward the crowd. Other automatic fire came from paratroopers inside the compound. The marchers, panicked, dropped their banners and fled for the safety of side streets. Some stopped to pick up fallen friends.

It lasted less than a minute. Doctors later said the two dead men suffered head wounds.

American officers said someone in the crowd fired a weapon at the convoy.

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Iraqi witnesses denied there was any gunfire from the crowd. "The Americans inside the compound just fired randomly," Khazal Abdul Hadi, 44, a marcher wounded in the leg, said from his hospital bed.

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Residents told reporters they were troubled by soldiers who gaze on Fallujah women and make seemingly rude comments, who they think mock the way Iraqis dress, and whose goggles or binoculars have some locals convinced they are "seeing" through curtains or clothing.

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The mayor told reporters it would be "difficult" for the Americans to leave, but he said most residents oppose their presence.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces," he said, "and many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions."

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April 30, 2003 Wednesday
Correction Appended

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

DISTRIBUTION: Europe; Britian; Scandinavia; Middle East; Africa; India; Asia; England

LENGTH: 807 words

HEADLINE: More protesters injured, killed as U.S. troops fire on protesters in Fallujah; army commander says troops will remain

BYLINE: CHARLES J. HANLEY; AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: FALLUJAH, Iraq

BODY:

At least two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded by U.S. troops who fired on anti-American protesters in this conservative "city of mosques" Wednesday, hospital officials said. A U.S. Army colonel, meanwhile, said American soldiers would remain in the one-time Baath Party bastion despite the shooting – the second such incident in 48 hours.

In a bloodier episode Monday night, 15 protesters and bystanders were killed, and at least 50 wounded, hospital officials said. In both cases, U.S. officers said their men were fired on first from among the crowds.

Iraqis denied it, and no weapons or suspects have been produced.

The bloodshed in Fallujah – in large part the result of cultural clashes between a foreign occupation force and a traditional Muslim society – underscores the challenge the U.S. military faces in a land whose people say they will resist a heavy foreign hand trying to control them.

The resistance may be especially sharp in Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim-dominated city of 200,000 50 kilometers (30 miles) west of Baghdad, because it benefited particularly – through its businessmen and military and police officers – from Saddam Hussein's Baath regime.

Wednesday's violence occurred at the climax of a march by 1,000 men protesting the earlier shootings, which took place at a Fallujah school taken over by a unit with the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division.

Young men in sandals and ankle-length white robes and others marched along Fallujah's main avenue before halting by a former police compound being used as a command post for U.S. troops.

"Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kill you," read an angry banner in English. A flyer they distributed denounced Monday night's shootings, in which children were among the dead, as a "vicious and unprecedented crime," and demanded punishment for those responsible.

Apache attack helicopters, meanwhile, flew overhead in hot, clear skies, skimming the city's many blue tile-topped minarets.

Within minutes, protesters were throwing stones – then shoes – toward U.S. soldiers hunkered down some 30 meters (yards) away behind sandbags in the compound.

More protesters injured, killed as U.S. troops fire on protesters in Fal

A six-vehicle U.S. Army convoy drove between the protesters and the compound.

Then, gunfire erupted though it wasn't clear from where. From atop one vehicle, a soldier fired a mounted machine gun toward the crowd. Other automatic fire came from paratroopers inside the compound.

Marchers panicked, dropped their banners and fled for the safety of side streets. Some stopped to pick up people who had fallen.

It lasted less than a minute. Doctors later said the two dead men suffered head wounds.

U.S. officers said someone in the crowd had fired a weapon at the convoy.

"There was gunfire by at least one person," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green, a squadron commander in the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, whose troops were in Fallujah to take control from the 82nd Airborne.

Iraqi witnesses denied there was any gunfire from the crowd.

"The Americans inside the compound just fired randomly," Khazal Abdul Hadi, 44, a marcher wounded in the leg, said from his hospital bed.

Asked whether fire from a single weapon justified firing into hundreds of demonstrators, Green said the question "may underestimate the complexity of violence." He did not elaborate.

After Monday night's bloodshed, officers also said the American barrage was justified in opening fire.

"Everything was within the rules of engagement," said Capt. Jeff Wilbur, an 82nd Airborne civil affairs officer. "There'll be no formal investigation."

Local leaders were unsatisfied. "We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized "mayor" of Fallujah.

At a meeting with U.S. officers, al-Alwani, religious and clan leaders also asked that troops be redeployed outside the city center. The paratrooper company that had occupied the school late left it.

Residents told reporters they were bothered by soldiers who look at Fallujah women and make seemingly rude comments. They said the soldiers "mock" the way Iraqis dress, and said the goggles or binoculars worn by troops – often night-vision goggles or protection against desert sands – have some people convinced the soldiers can see through clothing or curtains.

Green said the U.S. troops were trying to help restore security to the city in the aftermath of war. At the meeting with Fallujah's leaders, "we provided them with some guidance about what we intend to do to help the city stabilize," Green said.

Al-Alwani told reporters it would be "difficult" for the Americans to leave, but he said most residents oppose their presence.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces," he said, "and many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions."

CORRECTION-DATE: May 14, 2003 Wednesday

CORRECTION:

In an April 30 story about the U.S. Army's shooting of Iraqi protesters in Fallujah, Iraq, The Associated Press reported erroneously that a protest banner held by Iraqis said, in part, "we'll kill you." The banner said, "we'll kick you out."

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

87 of 136 DOCUMENTS

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Deseret News (Salt Lake City)

April 30, 2003, Wednesday

SECTION: WIRE; Pg. A10

LENGTH: 1060 words

HEADLINE: U.S. troops fire on Iraqis; 2 reported killed

BYLINE: By Niko Price Associated Press writer

BODY:

BAGHDAD, Iraq — For the second time this week, U.S. soldiers fired on anti-American protesters today in the city of Fallujah; the mayor said two people were killed and 14 wounded. President Bush planned to speak to the nation later this week to announce that major combat in Iraq had ended.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld became the first top Bush administration official to visit Iraq since Saddam Hussein's ouster.

Bush, to deliver his speech Thursday night from the returning aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln while it was still at sea, would neither declare victory nor declare the war to be over, said White House press secretary Ari Fleischer.

Rumsfeld told U.S. troops at Baghdad's airport: "We want the Iraqi people to live in freedom so they can build a future where the Iraqi leaders answer to the Iraqi people rather than killing them."

He also taped a broadcast message to Iraqis saying the United States is eager to return the country to their control.

Rumsfeld told the troops that the Bush administration is using diplomatic efforts to encourage countries to turn over wanted Iraqis to U.S. authorities and that some nations are no longer taking in fugitives.

The shooting in Fallujah, 30 miles west of Baghdad, occurred less than 48 hours after gunfire during a demonstration Monday night that hospital officials said killed 13 Iraqis.

About 1,000 people marched down the city's main street Wednesday to protest the earlier incident, stopping in front of a battalion headquarters of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division — a former office of Saddam's Baath Party.

American officers at the scene, and U.S. Central Command in Qatar, said U.S. soldiers in the compound and in a passing convoy opened fire in response to rock-throwing and gunfire.

"The evildoers are deliberately placing at risk the good civilians," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment. "These are deliberate actions by the enemy to use the population as cover."

During the march, and for hours afterward, U.S. Apache attack helicopters circled the site, barely skimming the tops of the tiled-roof minarets of Fallujah's mosques.

Fallujah's mayor, **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, said two people were killed and 14 wounded, and he asked for an investigation and compensation for the victims. He added that U.S. soldiers have been asked to stay away from mosques, residential areas and other sensitive places; the Americans agreed to study the request.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces. And many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions," said al-Alwani, a former Iraqi exile and opponent of Saddam's regime.

Local officials in Fallujah — a conservative Sunni Muslim city and Baath Party stronghold — said they saw or heard no shooting from among the protesters.

The incident, coupled with the deaths Monday outside a school in Fallujah, are increasing tension as American forces

U.S. troops fire on Iraqis; 2 reported killed Deseret News (Salt Lake Ci

try to keep the peace in Iraq and win the trust of its people.

U.S. officers met with Fallujah's mayor and local Muslims clerics in hopes of averting further violence. Several dozen demonstrators clustered angrily outside the town hall where the talks took place; "Get out, get out," some chanted.

Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said the Americans insisted the U.S. troops were needed to provide security, "but the people of Fallujah told them we already have security."

In the incident Monday night, U.S. Central Command said paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne were shot at by about 25 armed civilians mixed within an estimated 200 protesters outside a compound troops were occupying. Demonstrators said no gunfire came from their ranks.

Rumsfeld, nearing the end of a trip to several Persian Gulf countries, flew to Baghdad after joining a British commander, Maj. Gen. Robin Brims, for a briefing in Basra on military operations in southern Iraq.

"A number of human beings have been liberated and they are out from under the heel of a vicious, brutal regime," Rumsfeld said. "I'm very pleased that the United States and the United Kingdom worked so well together."

In Baghdad, Rumsfeld said coalition forces are committed to restoring order and basic services for Iraqis and helping them form a new government. He asked Iraqis to tell coalition soldiers about former Iraqi officials and foreign fighters who might still be in their neighborhoods.

Rumsfeld also met with Jay Garner, the retired Army general serving as civilian administrator of Iraq until a new government is established.

One of the unresolved issues confronting U.S. officials is whether Saddam's regime did in fact possess illegal weapons of mass destruction, as the Bush administration contended.

U.S. officials said Tuesday that high-ranking Iraqis now in custody are uniformly denying that Saddam's government had any biological, chemical or nuclear weapons. The officials said they believe many of the prisoners are lying to protect themselves.

American officials stand by their belief that Iraq possessed prohibited weapons and the means to make more. They have suggested that the weapons were well hidden or destroyed shortly before the war.

In London, British Prime Minister Tony Blair predicted Wednesday that those who believe Saddam possessed no weapons of mass destruction will be left "eating some of their words" when the banned arms are found.

"I am absolutely convinced and confident about the case on weapons of mass destruction," Blair told the House of Commons.

In other developments:

Coalition forces have taken custody of the former governor of Basra after he surrendered to the anti-Saddam Iraqi National Congress in Baghdad, U.S. Central Command confirmed Wednesday.

Walid Hamed Tawfiq al-Tikriti, a member of Saddam's clan, surrendered Tuesday. He was No. 44 on the U.S. military's most-wanted list of 55 Iraqi officials.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, in a speech, said imposing foreign political standards on Iraq would not necessarily lead to democracy, or lessen fanaticism, in the Arab and Islamic worlds.

He said those advocating such changes are "intentionally ignoring ... that Arab nations are working hard to achieve democracy according to their own standards."

"We reject the philosophy of imposing democracy by force," Mubarak said.

LOAD-DATE: April 30, 2003

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Dow Jones International News

April 30, 2003 Wednesday 9:18 PM GMT

LENGTH: 797 words

HEADLINE: US Army Colonel Says Troops Will Remain In Fallujah, Iraq

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq (AP)—At least two Iraqis were killed and 18 wounded by U.S. troops who fired on anti-American protesters in this conservative "city of mosques" Wednesday, hospital officials said. A U.S. Army colonel, meanwhile, said American soldiers would remain in the one-time Baath Party bastion despite the shooting – the second such incident in 48 hours.

In a bloodier episode Monday night, 15 protesters and bystanders were killed, and at least 50 wounded, hospital officials said. In both cases, U.S. officers said their men were fired on first from among the crowds.

Iraqis denied it, and no weapons or suspects have been produced.

The bloodshed in Fallujah – in large part the result of cultural clashes between a foreign occupation force and a traditional Muslim society – underscores the challenge the U.S. military faces in a land whose people say they will resist a heavy foreign hand trying to control them.

The resistance may be especially sharp in Fallujah, a Sunni Muslim-dominated city of 200,000 50 kilometers west of Baghdad, because it benefited particularly – through its businessmen and military and police officers – from Saddam Hussein's Baath regime.

Wednesday's violence occurred at the climax of a march by 1,000 men protesting the earlier shootings, which took place at a Fallujah school taken over by a unit with the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division.

Young men in sandals and ankle-length white robes and others marched along Fallujah's main avenue before halting by a former police compound being used as a command post for U.S. troops.

"Sooner or later U.S. killers we'll kill you," read an angry banner in English. A flyer they distributed denounced Monday night's shootings, in which children were among the dead, as a "vicious and unprecedented crime," and demanded punishment for those responsible.

Apache attack helicopters, meanwhile, flew overhead in hot, clear skies, skimming the city's many blue tile-topped minarets.

Within minutes, protesters were throwing stones – then shoes – toward U.S. soldiers hunkered down some 30 meters away behind sandbags in the compound.

A six-vehicle U.S. Army convoy drove between the protesters and the compound.

Then, gunfire erupted though it wasn't clear from where. From atop one vehicle, a soldier fired a mounted machine gun toward the crowd. Other automatic fire came from paratroopers inside the compound.

Marchers panicked, dropped their banners and fled for the safety of side streets. Some stopped to pick up people who had fallen.

It lasted less than a minute. Doctors later said the two dead men suffered head wounds.

U.S. officers said someone in the crowd had fired a weapon at the convoy.

US Army Colonel Says Troops Will Remain In Fallujah, Iraq Dow Jones Inte

"There was gunfire by at least one person," said Lt. Col. Tobin Green, a squadron commander in the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, whose troops were in Fallujah to take control from the 82nd Airborne.

Iraqi witnesses denied there was any gunfire from the crowd.

"The Americans inside the compound just fired randomly," Khazal Abdul Hadi, 44, a marcher wounded in the leg, said from his hospital bed.

Asked whether fire from a single weapon justified firing into hundreds of demonstrators, Green said the question "may underestimate the complexity of violence." He didn't elaborate.

After Monday night's bloodshed, officers also said the American barrage was justified in opening fire.

"Everything was within the rules of engagement," said Capt. Jeff Wilbur, an 82nd Airborne civil affairs officer. "There'll be no formal investigation."

Local leaders were unsatisfied. "We asked the commanding officers for an investigation and for compensation for the families of the dead and injured," said Taha Bedaiwi al-Alwani, the new, U.S.-recognized "mayor" of Fallujah.

At a meeting with U.S. officers, al-Alwani, religious and clan leaders also asked that troops be redeployed outside the city center. The paratrooper company that had occupied the school late left it.

Residents told reporters they were bothered by soldiers who look at Fallujah women and make seemingly rude comments. They said the soldiers "mock" the way Iraqis dress, and said the goggles or binoculars worn by troops – often night-vision goggles or protection against desert sands – have some people convinced the soldiers can see through clothing or curtains.

Green said the U.S. troops were trying to help restore security to the city in the aftermath of war. At the meeting with Fallujah's leaders, "we provided them with some guidance about what we intend to do to help the city stabilize," Green said.

Al-Alwani told reporters it would be "difficult" for the Americans to leave, but he said most residents oppose their presence.

"Many people believe these are occupying forces," he said, "and many of them are still cautious until they see their intentions."

NOTES:

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Dow Jones International News

April 30, 2003 Wednesday 10:42 AM GMT

LENGTH: 444 words

HEADLINE: Two Reported Dead As US Troops Fire On Fallujah Protests

BODY:

FALLUJAH, Iraq (AP)—Two people were reported killed and 14 wounded Wednesday in Fallujah, 50 kilometers west of Baghdad, as U.S. troops opened fire on anti-U.S. demonstrators for the second time this week, the city's mayor said.

About 1,000 residents were marching down Fallujah's main street Wednesday and stopped in front of a battalion headquarters of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division, in a compound formerly occupied by Saddam Hussein's Baath Party. The demonstrators were carrying signs condemning a shooting incident Monday night that hospital officials said killed 13 Iraqis.

Protesters started throwing rocks and shoes at the compound and troops opened fire about 10.30 a.m. (0630 GMT), scattering the demonstrators.

Fallujah mayor **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani** Medical said two people were killed and 14 wounded.

Maj. Michael Marti, an intelligence officer for the division's 2nd Brigade, said soldiers in a passing convoy fired on the crowd after rocks were thrown at them and a vehicle window was broken by what was believed to be automatic weapons fire.

Capt. Jeff Wilbur, a civil affairs officer, said the fire from the convoy was followed by soldiers opening fire from the compound.

City officials who witnessed the gunfire said they saw or heard no shooting from among the protesters.

U.S. Apache attack helicopters circled the site throughout the march and for hours afterwards. U.S. officers met with the mayor and leading area sheiks in hopes of reducing the tensions, while several dozen demonstrators gathered outside the town hall, where the meeting took place.

Emerging from the meeting, the imam of the Grand Fallujah Mosque, Jamal Shaqir Mahmood, said "The Americans said 'we won't reduce the numbers, they're needed for security.' But the people of Fallujah told them we already have security."

The U.S. forces have given no indication they might reduce their presence in Fallujah, which is the site of factories suspected of being linked to banned weapons programs for Saddam's regime.

However, U.S. forces did leave their station at the school where Monday's shooting took place.

U.S. troops and Iraqis have given sharply differing accounts of Monday night's shooting. U.S. forces insisted they opened fire only upon armed men - about 25 infiltrators among the protest crowd of 200, according to Col. Arnold Bray, commanding officer of the 1st Battalion, 325 Regiment of the 82nd Airborne Division.

Protesters insisted their demonstration was unarmed and peaceful.

Dr. Ahmed Ghandim al-Ali, director of Fallujah's general hospital, said the clash Monday killed 13 Iraqis - including three young boys - and injured about 75.

No U.S. troops were injured.

Two Reported Dead As US Troops Fire On Fallujah Protests Dow Jones Inter

NOTES:

PUBLISHER: Dow Jones & Company

LOAD-DATE: December 18, 2004

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April 30, 2003 Wednesday

SECTION: WASHINGTON

LENGTH: 882 words

HEADLINE: Mission Shift Holds Dangers for U.S. Forces in Iraq

BYLINE: By J. SCOTT ORR; J. Scott Orr can be contacted at [scott.orr\(at\)newhouse.com](mailto:scott.orr(at)newhouse.com)

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

As President Bush prepares to announce that major combat operations have ended in Iraq, U.S. troops in the leaderless country have already begun the transition from war fighters to street cops.

Such shifts in military responsibilities are rarely smooth, according to experts who see the deadly clashes between U.S. combat troops and anti-American demonstrators in Fallujah as unfortunate side effects of a mission in transition.

"In the most basic sense they are transitioning from war fighters where they have a combat role into something more akin to being policemen. This is particularly difficult in Iraq, which is not your typical peacekeeping operation," said Dennis Jett, dean of the International Center at the University of Florida.

"The problem is it's a situation that has been imposed from the outside by the U.S. ... We aren't there because we were asked to come in and keep the peace," said Jett, a former U.S. ambassador to Peru and Mozambique and the author of "Why Peacekeeping Fails."

There are other complicating factors as well, experts say, including a fractious population that is itself divided along religious and ethnic lines. At the same time soldiers who just weeks ago were involved in combat against Iraqi troops are now being asked to patrol civilian populations where the enemy is not so easily identified.

Often, the line between combat and peacekeeping missions can be blurred.

"Sometimes there's a long period of time after major hostilities are over before conditions have changed enough to allow the rules of engagement to change from combat operations to security operations," said retired Lt. Col. Arthur S. DeGroat, a decorated veteran of the 1991 Persian Gulf War who now heads the school of military science department at Kansas State University.

"Those rules of engagement may, or may not, have changed yet," he said.

In Fallujah, U.S. forces fired on demonstrators for the second straight day Wednesday. Local Iraqi officials in the town 30 miles west of Baghdad said the clashes have claimed more than a dozen civilian lives, while U.S. Central Command in Qatar disputed the death toll and said the U.S. troops were defending themselves against hostile fire from the demonstrators.

Hoping to ease tensions, U.S. officials met Wednesday with Fallujah Mayor **Taha** Bedaiwi al-**Alwani**, who asked that troops steer clear of mosques, residential neighborhoods and other sensitive areas.

Whatever the facts about the bloodshed in Fallujah, the skirmishes point up the perils that can face combat soldiers when they are forced to become peacekeepers.

In recent conflicts, the United States has had help with postwar security. In Afghanistan, for example, U.S. troops are supported by the new government of Hamid Karsai. The 1999 mission to oust Slobodan Milosevic from Kosovo was

Mission Shift Holds Dangers for U.S. Forces in Iraq Newhouse News Servic

carried out by NATO forces, which continue to help keep the peace there, while in Bosnia a 1995 peace accord continues to be enforced by U.N. peacekeepers.

"Iraq is similar to other recent examples in that we have to rebuild government and legal institutions. The difference is this time we are doing it unilaterally," said Robert Rubenstein, a professor at the Maxwell School at Syracuse University and the author of "The Social Dynamics of Peace and War: Culture and International Security."

"There certainly should be a multilateral postwar mission there. The longer the U.S. stays there and tries to control what's happening in running the administration of Iraq unilaterally, the less likely it is that a new government will take hold," he said.

American forces have been welcomed by some populations, particularly Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south that had been persecuted under the regime of fallen dictator Saddam Hussein. In areas like Fallujah, a stronghold of Saddam's Baath Party and Sunni Muslims, the welcome has not been as warm.

And even among populations that welcomed the end of the Saddam regime, Iraqis have called for a quick end to the U.S. occupation and a swift transition to a new local administration.

"Military peacekeepers inevitably are foreigners who are not always welcomed. You have to have a gradual transition to a civilian police force made up of indigenous personnel," said Harvey Langholtz, a professor at the College of William and Mary and the author of "The Psychology of Peacekeeping."

That transition, Langholtz said, can take time, requiring the establishment of a new government and a new legal system before local police can take over. At the same time, each soldier must undergo his or her own inner transition.

"A peacekeeper doesn't have a clearly defined foe and he cannot simply use escalating force all the time as a solution. As police they have to use diplomacy, tact, persuasion and psychology. It's not a simple transition," he said.

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, meeting with troops Wednesday in Baghdad, said the peacekeeping mission will continue as an interim government is established and Iraq is rebuilt. In the meantime, he said, U.S. troops will be seeking out the remnants of Saddam's regime, rooting out terrorists and looking for weapons.

"While you folks have accomplished a great deal," Rumsfeld told the troops, "there is still some work to do."

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 2003

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Reuters News

April 30, 2003 Wednesday 2:08 PM GMT

LENGTH: 779 words

HEADLINE: UPDATE 3-US troops fire on Falluja crowd, Iraqis say 2 dead.

BYLINE: By Edmund Blair

BODY:

FALLUJA, Iraq, April 30 (Reuters) - U.S. troops opened fire on Wednesday for the second time this week on an angry crowd in the Iraqi town of Falluja, near Baghdad.

A local hospital official said two men had been killed in the incident. Soldiers said they fired only after being shot at.

"The number of killed was two. They were hit in the head," said Ahmed al-Taha, a senior official at the main hospital in Falluja, 50 km (30 miles) west of Baghdad.

He put their ages between the late 20s and early 30s and said they had been hit by bullets or shrapnel. He said 18 people had been treated for wounds, some light, others more serious.

The incident, which came as U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld flew in for a postwar visit to Baghdad, may fuel Iraqi resentment at the U.S. presence just three weeks after troops were welcomed as liberators for overthrowing Saddam Hussein.

Later on Wednesday, two people in a crowd of mourners for one of the men killed in the morning incident began shooting their Kalashnikovs into the air. Others in the procession told them to move off, saying they did not want to be provocative.

No U.S. troops were in evidence when the mourners made their way to a mosque in the centre of town in the late afternoon.

The U.S. Central Command headquarters in Qatar issued a statement touching on Wednesday morning's shooting.

"In Fallujah (sic) late this morning, Iraqi civilians throwing rocks and firing weapons attacked a convoy," the statement said. "The convoy returned fire, and the crowd was dispersed by the arrival of Coalition helicopters."

Central Command said it could not yet give casualty figures.

Some residents said they thought up to four people might have been killed and said the demonstrators had been unarmed.

The crowd had been protesting outside the main U.S. command post in the town about the killing of at least 13 Iraqis in the town on Monday night. The post is in the former headquarters of Saddam's Baath party, next to the mayor's office.

SOLDIER "GOT SCARED"

Carpenter Ziad Aboud Najm, 34, said he was among the demonstrators chanting slogans outside the post when the U.S. vehicle convoy approached.

He said one soldier in the building seemed to get scared, ducked down below his position and fired a gun into the air, roughly in the direction of the convoy. Vehicles in the convoy then opened fire on the demonstrators, he added.

New protests erupted in the conservative, Sunni Muslim town after the latest shooting, with a crowd hurling abuse at

UPDATE 3-US troops fire on Falluja crowd, Iraqis say 2 dead. Reuters New

the Americans from the street outside the command post.

A group of more than 50 chanted "There is no God but God" and "Our souls and blood we sacrifice to you, Islam". A handful of demonstrators shouted at the soldiers "Go! Go home!"

Falluja's mayor, **Taha** Badawi Hamid al-**Alwani**, told Dubai-based Al Arabiya TV by telephone: "We have requested that U.S. forces leave the town and stay on its outskirts so as not to inflame Muslim sentiments here."

He later told Reuters he had met U.S. forces to discuss the situation. The U.S. military had a role to play in ensuring security and stability, he said, but added that tensions had risen in the town because of Monday's shootings.

Much depended on religious and community leaders helping to keep their followers calm, Alwani said.

U.S. commanders said soldiers had opened fire in Falluja on Monday night only after coming under attack by around 25 armed Iraqis among a crowd of hundreds of protesters. Many locals insisted the protesters, about 200 of them, had not been armed.

PATROLS RESENTED

Doctor Talib al-Janabi, head of a private hospital in Falluja, said townspeople objected to the way the Americans were patrolling, "wandering inside and in between houses and in front of schools, like cowboys".

He said Iraqis did not want to be treated "like what happened in Israel and Palestine", adding: "They said they are coming here to liberate us from the regime of Saddam Hussein. But it should not be in such a way."

On Monday night, about 100 men of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, based in a local school and braced for attacks from loyalists on what was Saddam's 66th birthday, came under rifle fire from the crowd, according to the soldiers' own accounts.

They returned fire into the darkened street with rifles and heavy machineguns, judging by residents' accounts and damage to nearby buildings.

Major Michael Marti of the 82nd Airborne denied a reporter's suggestion that the troops in Falluja might be getting jittery.

"I think their senses are much more heightened and they are aware of their surroundings much more," he said. It was not always clear if the gunfire they heard was celebratory or intended to harm U.S. troops, he added.

NOTES:

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Richmond Times Dispatch (Virginia)

March 30, 2003 Sunday City Edition

SECTION: GENERAL; Pg. A-1

LENGTH: 992 words

HEADLINE: MUSLIMS IN MILITARY: A THORNY ISSUE

BYLINE: Marilyn Rauber, Media General News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Military officials say last week's deadly grenade attack at a U.S. base in Kuwait, allegedly by a Muslim soldier, does not signal trouble in the ranks over American Muslims fighting in Iraq.

"We have not seen any indication of a problem with Muslim soldiers," said Army spokeswoman Martha Rudd. "Because you're a Muslim doesn't mean you support terrorism."

Some military experts warn that the Pentagon is ill-equipped to ferret out radicals in the services, and a senator has accused the military of relying on controversial Islamic groups to recruit Muslim chaplains.

Sen. Charles E. Schumer, D-N.Y., asked the Pentagon's inspector general this month to investigate the military's reliance on two Virginia-based Muslim organizations.

Schumer, in a letter to Defense Department Inspector General Joseph Schmitz, said the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg and the American Muslim Foundation in Alexandria are "under investigation as part of U.S. Customs' Operation Green Quest for their possible role in helping to funnel \$20 million to terrorists through offshore financial institutions."

The Pentagon relies on the Islamic school and an arm of the Muslim foundation called the American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council to recommend and vouch for prospective chaplains.

Schumer also is demanding that the federal Bureau of Prisons investigate its chaplain-recruiting methods, which are similar to the military's, in light of allegations that extremist chaplains have infiltrated some New York prisons.

Neither the president of the Islamic school, Taha Jabir Al-Alwani, nor the head of Muslim foundation, Abdul Rahman, could be reached for comment. People answering the phones at the organizations said the men were traveling. A lawyer for the Islamic school told the New York Post recently that the group was "very moderate."

* * *

After the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, the military's most senior Muslim chaplain, Abdul-Rashid Muhammad, sought a religious opinion, called a fatwah, from the Islamic school's president and another Islamic scholar on whether American Muslim should fight against other Muslims in Afghanistan and elsewhere.

The two scholars concluded that "all Muslims ought to be united against all those who terrorize the innocents, and those who permit the killing of noncombatants without a justifiable reason." That was taken to mean that Muslims in the U.S. military could fight against Muslims.

Hussein Ibish, a spokesman for the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination League, said most Arab Americans – half of

MUSLIMS IN MILITARY: A THORNY ISSUE Richmond Times Dispatch (Virginia) M

them are Muslim – oppose the war with Iraq.

"There is a sense in the community that this war is not necessarily the right thing at the right time, but I think soldiers do their duty," Ibish said.

Jim Phillips, a terrorism expert at the Heritage Foundation, said, "Most American Muslims know that Saddam Hussein has killed ... more Muslims than non-Muslims ... and is a threat to Islam itself."

The Pentagon said about 4,100 Muslims are enlisted in the military. Some Islamic organizations, noting that Islam is one of the fastest-growing religions in America, claim a much higher number, at least 10,000.

The Pentagon began recruiting Muslim chaplains about 10 years ago, after the Persian Gulf War, and there are now more than a dozen. A Navy imam was sent to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, to lead prayer services for the suspected Afghan terrorists detained at Camp X-Ray. Several other Muslim chaplains are currently in the Persian Gulf region.

Rudd, the Army spokeswoman, said the military relies on religious organizations because it is "not in the business of picking [chaplains] out." She said that because chaplains usually require security clearance, they undergo a thorough National Security Agency background check.

* * *

Terror expert Steve Emerson said the military could, and should, change its chaplain-recruiting program, but he conceded that it is harder "to weed out potential bad apples" in the rank-and-file. Most Army enlistees, for example, are checked only for criminal behavior.

Emerson pointed to several incidents in which suspected Muslim terrorists have managed to infiltrate the military.

In one case, an Egyptian-born sergeant, Ali A. Mohamed, who was stationed at Fort Bragg, N.C., in the mid-1980s, turned out to be an adviser to Osama bin Laden. Mohamed later pleaded guilty to helping plan the 1998 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Kenya.

Last fall, the FBI arrested a former Army reservist, Jeffrey Leon Battle, in Portland, Ore. He is accused of enlisting so he could get weapons training to join al-Qaida and fight Americans in Afghanistan.

It is unclear what motivated last week's deadly incident. Asan Akbar, a sergeant who was stationed at Fort Campbell, Ky., and lived in nearby Clarksville, Tenn., is accused of lobbing grenades into officers' tents near the Kuwait-Iraq border, killing two and injuring 14 others.

The Los Angeles Times reported that according to other soldiers, Akbar complained to them that "you guys are coming into our countries and you're going to rape our women and kill our children." His mother told reporters that her son had feared being persecuted because he was Muslim.

Lexington Institute defense analyst Dan Goure said "if there were a radical Islamic subset among Muslim chaplains [and the rank-and-file]," the military's usual approach is that it is "unaware of it and doesn't want to be aware of it. ... It runs in the other direction."

Army officials said they are unaware of any Muslim dissent over fighting in Iraq, but that even if a service member asked for conscientious-objector status on the grounds that a Muslim should not kill another Muslim, it probably would be rejected.

"C.O. status doesn't apply to somebody who doesn't want to kill a particular person. Being a soldier means you have to face combat ... and that could be with anyone," Rudd said.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO

LOAD-DATE: April 1, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Times Publishing Company
St. Petersburg Times (Florida)March 27, 2003 Thursday 0 South Pinellas Edition**SECTION:** NATIONAL; Pg. 7A**LENGTH:** 933 words**HEADLINE:** Muslim linked to Al-Arian trained military chaplains**SERIES:** WAR WITH IRAQ: THE MILITARY**BYLINE:** MARY JACOBY**DATELINE:** WASHINGTON**BODY:**

An Islamic scholar – a man court records suggest is an unindicted co-conspirator in the Sami Al-Arian case – has played a key role in training Muslim chaplains in the U.S. military, prompting a U.S. senator to pursue a Pentagon investigation.

Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., wrote the Defense Department's inspector general earlier this month to request a probe into a school run by prominent Islamic scholar Taha Jabir Al-Alwani.

Al-Alwani and a network of Virginia-based organizations with which he's associated – including a group accused of funding alleged fronts for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad in Tampa – are under federal investigation for suspected financing of terrorism.

A federal indictment last month named Al-Arian, a former University of South Florida professor, as the North American leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a group prosecutors say has killed more than 100 people in Israel with suicide and car bombings.

Documents seized in a 1995 raid of a USF-sponsored think tank and charity founded by Al-Arian indicate that Al-Alwani is the unnamed "unindicted co-conspirator five" in the Tampa indictment.

The indictment alleges that Al-Arian used the World and Islam Studies Enterprise think tank and a charity, the Islamic Concern Project, as fronts to raise money for and recruit people into the Islamic Jihad. Al-Arian has denied the charges.

Al-Alwani, who lives in the Washington suburb of Herndon, Va., did not return phone calls. But his lawyer, Nancy Luque, said the scholar and Muslim activist "is not an extremist."

She criticized Schumer for suggesting Al-Alwani and the academy he runs, the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, have ties to terrorism. "It was outrageous," Luque said.

The graduate school, in Leesburg, Va., is one of three Islamic organizations that endorse Muslim chaplains for the military.

At least seven of the 12 Muslim chaplains in the armed forces were educated at Al-Alwani's school, which the Pentagon describes as one of the few academies in the nation able to provide Islamic theological training.

In March 2002, a Customs Service-led task force raided the school, Al-Alwani's home and a network of interlocking Islamic nonprofit organizations and businesses in suburban Virginia.

The raid sought evidence that the web of Saudi-funded organizations was funneling money to al-Qaida, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and other groups sympathetic to militant Islam. The search warrants named Al-Alwani and Al-Arian as targets, among others.

Muslim linked to Al-Arian trained military chaplains St. Petersburg Time

So far, only Al-Arian and seven others accused of supporting Palestinian Islamic Jihad have been charged with crimes. No charges have been filed against Al-Alwani.

Luque said she has "no reason to believe" that prosecutors remain interested in her client. But in a March 14 motion filed with the U.S. District Court for Eastern Virginia, prosecutors described the probe of Al-Alwani and others in Virginia as "ongoing."

Rita Katz, executive director of the SITE Institute, a Washington group that researches terrorism, said Al-Alwani is a "person who supports and funnels money to terrorist organizations, and he's training Muslim chaplains for the military."

Katz is a consultant to South Carolina trial lawyer Ron Motley, who is suing members of the Saudi royal family and others – including Al-Alwani – on behalf of 3,100 family members of victims of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. The lawsuit accuses the defendants of financing international terrorism.

The Army has seven Muslim chaplains, the Navy has three and the Air Force has two. A spokesman for the Army, Martha Rudd, said, "these are all good chaplains who have represented their faith and other faiths well."

The other two endorsing organizations are the Saudi-funded Islamic Society of North America and the American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council. Al-Alwani has close ties to both organizations.

The veterans affairs council is an outgrowth of the American Muslim Council, whose founder, Abdurahman Alamoudi, helped place the Pentagon's first Muslim chaplain in 1993.

Alamoudi is a director of two organizations raided by the Customs-led task force last year. One group, the American Muslim Foundation, is funded primarily by Alamoudi's wealthy family in Saudi Arabia, which owns a construction business, Alamoudi said in an interview earlier this month.

Alamoudi spoke with pride of his efforts to bring American Muslims into the mainstream by placing Muslim chaplains in the military. "That was an excellent opportunity to show my community we have people who are patriotic."

A Navy chaplain trained by Al-Alwani's graduate school, Lt. Abuhena M. Saifulislam, has ministered to prisoners captured in Afghanistan and held by the military at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

In 2001, Al-Alwani issued a fatwa, or Islamic ruling, permitting American Muslims to fight in the conflict in Afghanistan. The fatwa was also endorsed by Sheikh Yussuf Al-Qaradhawi, a prominent Qatar-based religious scholar who has provided religious justification for suicide bombings in Israel.

The Al-Arian indictment says that "unindicted co-conspirator five," who is thought to be Al-Alwani, wrote a letter to Al-Arian saying he considered the Tampa group "as part of and an extension" of his own organization and "promised to send the remainder of the money pledged previously."

Schumer's office did not return phone calls seeking comment on the status of his request to the Pentagon. But people familiar with the matter said the department's inspector general has not yet responded to the senator's letter.

LOAD-DATE: March 27, 2003

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The Washington Times

March 25, 2003, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: COMMENTARY; Pg. A17

LENGTH: 990 words

HEADLINE: The 'Fifth Column' syndrome

BYLINE: By Frank Gaffney Jr., THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

The most traumatic loss the U.S. military has suffered to date in the war with Iraq may, ironically, have been inflicted not by Iraqi Republican Guards, regular army units or irregular "Fedayeen." Rather, it may have come at the hands of an American servicemen.

Early Sunday morning Kuwait time, a sergeant assigned to an engineering brigade of the 101st Airborne Division allegedly attacked three tents in which many divisional commanding officers were sleeping on the eve of their unit's jump-off into Iraq.

According to press reports of the incident, Sgt. Asan Akbar rolled three or four grenades into the tents then proceeded to shoot some of those who sought to flee the ensuing fire and carnage. The attack killed Capt. Christopher Seifert and wounded more than a dozen other members of the storied "Screaming Eagles," several so severely they had to be flown to the U.S. military hospital at Ramstein, Germany.

What made this episode so wrenching was not merely that a U.S. soldier would have turned his weapons on his comrades. Such "fragging" incidents have happened before notably, during the dark days of the Vietnam conflict, when a demoralized and drug-ridden military comprised of significant numbers of conscripts was fighting an increasingly unpopular war. They are always corrosive to the good order and discipline essential for successful combat operations.

The attack for which Sgt. Akbar is being held at Camp Pennsylvania in Kuwait is sending shockwaves through the national security community for another reason, though: It could be the precursor for a far larger and more dangerous problem, both for the military and for American society more generally. Call it the "Fifth Column syndrome."

While details of Sgt. Akbar's personal history are sketchy at the moment, published accounts indicate that he is a Black Muslim convert.

Exactly when he converted to Islam is unclear, as is the nature of his adherence. [One report says his neighbors in Fort Campbell, Ky., saw beer bottles in his trash; another neighbor, however, told a journalist Sgt. Akbar had declined an offer of a beer at a social occasion, saying he was a Muslim].

What is clear, however, is that in the days leading up to the attack on the tents comprising the 101st's Tactical Operations Center, Sgt. Akbar exhibited unsettling behavior. Evidently, what has been called an "attitude problem" reached a point where his superiors decided the sergeant would be "left behind" when the division deployed into Iraq.

The words Sgt. Akbar is reported by the Los Angeles Times to have uttered when he was seized after the fragging suggest the ominous nature of his "attitude": "You guys are coming into our countries and you're going to rape our women and kill our children."

The question occurs: If this account is correct, where would a serviceman get the idea that his non-Muslim colleagues were different from him ["you guys"] and that they were determined to do horrible things to the civilians of countries with which he evidently identifies more than with his own?

Since Sgt. Akbar's personal case is, at this writing, under investigation, it is too early to say with precision. Yet what

The 'Fifth Column' syndrome The Washington Times March 25, 200

is known of his background is illuminating of the larger problem we must now confront.

Radical Muslim sects and organizations distinguished from peaceable, nonviolent and law-abiding adherents to Islam by the term "Islamists" have been making steady progress over the past four decades in establishing a presence in the United States [as elsewhere around the world] and dominating their co-religionists and, in due course, others they consider to be "non-believers." Thanks to the oil-revenue-underwritten largess of the Saudi Arabia's state religion, the Wahhabi sect, this Islamist enterprise has established itself in several places where a man like Asan Akbar could have come under its sway.

Perhaps, Sgt. Akbar was exposed to Islamist thinking via the Wahhabi-backed Muslim Student's Association, which has a chapter at the University of California, Davis an institution he reportedly attended from 1988-1997. Or perhaps, it was at the mosque he attended in the South Central section of Los Angeles, the Masjid Bilal Islamic Center. The Center's school [they are called madrassas in places like Pakistan] received funds from the Islamic Development Bank [ISDB], a Saudi-controlled fund headquartered in Jeddah that claims to have capitalized \$19 billion worth of projects around the world.

Alternatively, and particularly worrisome, is the possibility Sgt. Akbar could have gotten murderous ideas about America, its armed forces and the Muslim world from a chaplain in the U.S. military. As of June 2002, nine of the armed forces' 14 Muslim chaplains received their religious training from another Saudi-supported entity, the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences [GSISS] in Leesburg, Va. In March of that year, the multi-agency Operation Greenquest raided the offices of GSISS, along with 23 other Muslim organizations.

Agents also raided the homes of Iqbal Unus, the dean of students at GSISS, and **Taha Al-Alwani**, the school's president. According to search warrants issued at the time, these groups were raided for "potential money laundering and tax evasion activities and their ties to terrorist groups such as ... al Qaeda as well as individual terrorists ... [including] Osama bin Laden."

It may be that last Sunday's attack turns out to be an isolated event. It should, nonetheless, serve as a wake-up call to the Bush administration and all who love this country that there are among us some who do not. They, and organizations that may be fomenting their hatred toward the United States, must be recognized as such and dealt with accordingly.

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the president of the Center for Security Policy and a columnist for The Washington Times.

LOAD-DATE: March 25, 2003

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The Washington Daybook

March 12, 2003

ORGANIZATION: Al-Hewar Center holds a discussion on "The Iraqi Issue: Shadows of the Past and Possibilities for the Future."

AGENDA: In Arabic

TIME: 8 p.m.

LOCATION: Al-Hewar Center, 124 Park Street SE, Vienna, Va.

CONTACT: 703-281-6277; e-mail, alhewar@alhewar.com; <http://www.alhewar.com>

PARTICIPANTS: Taha Jaber Al-Alwani, thinker and Islamic Iraqi writer

TYPE: Discussion

PERSON: TAHA JABER AL-ALWANI (91%);

SUBJECT: Foreign Affairs;

LOAD-DATE: March 7, 2003

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Copyright 2003 Times Publishing Company
St. Petersburg Times (Florida)March 11, 2003 Tuesday 0 South Pinellas Edition**SECTION:** NATIONAL; Pg. 1A**LENGTH:** 1648 words**HEADLINE:** Saudi form of Islam wars with moderates**BYLINE:** MARY JACOBY; GRAHAM BRINK**DATELINE:** TAMPA**BODY:**

In May 1987, more than a dozen people stormed a Ramadan service at the mosque that would later become a spiritual and political base for Sami Al-Arian, accused of being the North American leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

The dissidents tried to drive out the worshipers, according to a Hillsborough County sheriff's report. A woman identified as Hala Al-Najjar swung a large purse, knocking over a pregnant woman who later miscarried.

At the time, this newspaper called it a "scuffle between two Moslem sects." In hindsight, the "scuffle" was one in a dramatic series of struggles at mosques throughout the country between fundamentalist and moderate Muslims.

The battles, which continue today, are part of a Saudi-financed missionary project to spread the kingdom's harsh and highly political version of Islam, known as Wahhabism, experts on Islam say.

"We feel this is very much a war for the heart and soul of our religion," said Jamaluddin Hoffman of the Islamic Supreme Council of America, which represents Muslims who practice the mystical Sufi tradition.

Wahhabism, the state religion of Saudi Arabia, claims to revive the original practice of Islam from the time of the prophet Mohammed and views other Muslim traditions as heretical. Critics call Wahhabism puritanical and intolerant and say its fundamentalist outlook has led to the repression of women.

In the United States, Wahhabis are known for strident political views. Some Muslims say Wahhabis are trying to crush them.

"They are going around telling people that we are heretics," said Agha Jafri, a leader of the Shia Muslim community in New York. "That we are the product of a Jewish conspiracy and we are not Muslims. Nobody is Muslim to them except themselves. They just hate us."

For more than three decades, Saudi-backed organizations have poured billions of dollars into the United States and other countries to fund Wahhabi mosques, Islamic schools, conferences and education for imams, or Muslim spiritual leaders.

Some money comes directly from the Saudi government. Other funds come from wealthy Saudis, investigators say. In the United States, some of the money flowed through a web of Islamic organizations now under investigation for financing terrorism.

But the main clearinghouse for Wahhabism in the United States is a group not known to be under investigation, the Islamic Society of North America. ISNA is subsidized by the Saudi government.

An ISNA subsidiary called the North American Islamic Trust owns about 27 percent of the estimated 1200 mosques in the United States, says a report by the Council on American-Islamic Relations.

In 1989, two years after the melee in Tampa, the trust took title to the mosque in Temple Terrace. The trust also owns

Saudi form of Islam wars with moderates St. Petersburg Times (Florida) M

the Islamic Academy of Florida, the school founded by Al-Arian, indicted Feb. 19 for his alleged leadership role in the Islamic Jihad.

It is unclear whether Al-Arian would call himself a Wahhabist, but in taking over the Tampa mosque, his disciples appeared to follow the Wahhabi script. They drove out moderates, handed title of the mosque to the Islamic trust, and received secret funding linked to Saudi Arabia, documents show.

Similar scenarios took place in California, Illinois, Texas and Arizona.

Moderate Muslims filed a lawsuit in the early 1980s in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the Wahhabi takeover of their mosque in Bridgeview, Ill. The fundamentalists "infiltrated our community," the lawsuit said, "tearing down what we have been attempting to build for half a century."

A law professor at the University of California-Los Angeles, professor Khaled Abou el-Fadl, told the New Republic magazine last year that radicals once chased him out of a mosque in Austin, Texas, owned by the Islamic trust. He says they threw a shoe at him.

Khalid Duran, an Islamic scholar and author, said the trust wants "all the mosques to be ideologically pure in their own Wahhabist line. They want to prevent others from having influence."

Duran and others said the trust often takes title to a mosque after extremists have seized control. Soon, Wahhabi literature shows up in the mosques and related Islamic schools, only Wahhabi-oriented speakers are allowed to talk and often women are separated from men for services.

Dr. Bassam Osman, president of the Illinois-based trust, and Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed, secretary general of ISNA, did not return phone calls seeking comment.

But ISNA board member Monem Salam, 30, said the society promotes mainstream Islam. He said it does not proselytize Wahhabism, which he refers to as Salafism, a term for the broader pan-Islamist movement.

"There's a lot of different nuances. If you think Wahhabi equals Osama bin Laden, then I don't think there are very many of them in the U.S.," said Salam, a financial planner in Dallas.

He said it would be unfair to label Salafists as extremists. "It's like you have evangelical Christians who are not in favor of abortion, and then you have evangelical Christians who go out and bomb a clinic," Salam said.

As for Tampa, it is hard to know what happened in 1987 because no one involved will talk.

Magda Ahmad, the woman who miscarried after being knocked down in the 1987 scuffle, declined to comment.

"I don't want to talk about anything because I don't trust anybody and I want peace of mind," said Ahmad, who now lives in Winter Park.

But a conflict now playing out in north-central California shows the confrontational nature of Wahhabis, said Abdul Kabeer Krambo, secretary of the Sufist Islamic Center of Yuba City.

Last August, two strangers showed up at his mosque, Krambo said. One man was from Chicago and the other from New York. Soon, the men began making a ruckus during services.

"They created scenes in the mosque. Standing up and making up some words against somebody and starting a free-for-all," Krambo said. "They'd yell, 'These aren't proper beliefs! This is forbidden. You can't do this in Islam!'"

The insurgents in Tampa in 1987 fit the same pattern. Obscure at the time, their names are now well known.

The person charged with assaulting the pregnant woman was Hala Al-Najjar, sister of Mazen Al-Najjar, Al-Arian's brother-in-law who spent more than four years in jail on the basis of secret evidence the government said linked him to Islamic Jihad.

The sheriff's report also shows that Mazen Al-Najjar and another sister, Nahla, were among the rabble rousers. Nahla is married to Al-Arian.

The report shows a Muhammed al-Khatib was questioned as well. A man with the same name was indicted with Al-Arian as a leader of Islamic Jihad.

Saudi form of Islam wars with moderates St. Petersburg Times (Florida) M

Only Hala Al-Najjar was charged in connection with the incident, and those charges were dropped, records show.

The indictment against Sami Al-Arian alleges that the Islamic Academy of Florida was part of the infrastructure supporting him as he helped lead the Islamic Jihad.

Two incorporators of the Islamic trust that owns the Islamic Academy of Florida were Jamal Barzinji and Hisham Al-Talib. Both men also served as directors of the International Institute of Islamic Thought, one of the groups raided last March whose money is suspected of coming from Saudi Arabia through the SAAR Foundation.

The indictment, in turn, says the International Institute of Islamic Thought funded several organizations to which Al-Arian was connected – the Islamic Academy of Florida, the World and Islam Studies Enterprise (or WISE), a think tank Al-Arian once headed at USF and the Islamic Committee for Palestine, a charity that he once ran. Tax records from 1994 show the institute gave \$8,000 to the academy and \$10,000 to WISE at a time when, according to the indictment, the Islamic Jihad was struggling financially.

Letters seized in the 1995 raid on Al-Arian's USF think tank and his home further illustrate the relationship.

One letter, dated Nov. 6, 1992, is from the president of the International Institute of Islamic Thought, **Taha Jaber Al-Alwani**. **Alwani** appears to be described in the Al-Arian indictment as unindicted co-conspirator number five.

Al-Alwani wrote Al-Arian:

". . . The matter of the financial support was never the basis of our relationship, for our relation added to the brotherhood of faith and Islam is an ideological and cultural concordance with the same objective. . . ."

Other correspondence describes tens of thousands of dollars in grants made to the Tampa group. In another letter, Al-Arian refers to a meeting he had with another official at an ISNA conference in which the person agreed to give him an additional \$20,000.

Although the transaction was discussed at an ISNA conference, there is no evidence the society was a conduit for cash to Al-Arian.

Hoffman, the Sufi Muslim spokesman, said it is difficult to speak out because Wahhabis target dissenters with vitriol.

But he wanted Americans to understand the difference between Wahhabism and other Muslim traditions. Not doing so could endanger "the civil rights and civil liberties of Muslims in America," Hoffman said.

– Times researcher John Martin contributed to this report.

What is Wahhabism?

Wahhabism claims to be an ideologically pure form of Islam dating to the time of the prophet Mohammed. It preaches against "un-Islamic" borrowings from Christianity, such as worshiping at tombs of Muslim saints or praying for divine intercession.

Wahhabism is named after Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, a cleric whose alliance with the Al Saud dynasty in the mid 18th century formed the basis of modern Saudi Arabia.

Followers of al-Wahhab considered Muslims who engaged in different religious rituals to be infidels. This is the historical source of tension between Wahhabis and Muslims from the Sufi and Shiite traditions.

Today, Wahhabis prefer to call themselves Salafis, a reference to a pious generation of Muslims who succeeded the prophet Mohammed.

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The Washington Daybook

November 13, 2002

ORGANIZATION: Al-Hewar Center - holds a discussion on "Challenges for Arabs and Muslims in the U.S."

AGENDA: In Arabic

TIME: 8 p.m.

LOCATION: Al-Hewar Center, 124 Park Street SE, Vienna, VA

CONTACT: 703-281-6277; alhewar@alhewar.com; <http://www.alhewar.com>

PARTICIPANTS: Taha Jaber Al-**Alwani**, president, Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences

TYPE: Discussion

PERSON: TAHA JABER AL-**ALWANI** (91%);

LN-ORG: GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ISLAMIC&SOCIAL SCIENCES (91%);

COMPANY: GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ISLAMIC&SOCIAL SCIENCES (91%);

SUBJECT: Social Issues;

LOAD-DATE: November 7, 2002

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Copyright 2002 U.P.I.
United Press International

November 6, 2002 Wednesday

LENGTH: 825 words

HEADLINE: Faith: Ramadan rigor greatest in US

BYLINE: By UWE SIEMON-NETTO

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Nov. 6 (UPI)

BODY:

The beat of drums ushered in the holy month of Ramadan throughout the Muslim world before dawn, Wednesday. By the light of lanterns, faithful went from house to house reciting poems in much of the Middle East.

Yet notwithstanding the event's exotic beauty, it's not in Arabia that this fast for God, community, mind and body is pursued with the greatest rigor, according to Abdulwahab Alkebsi, executive director of the Washington-based Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy.

"Muslims fast much better in the United States than anywhere else in the Islamic world," he said, confirming once again the discovery of cultural sociologist Raymond Williams that "immigrants are by all accounts more religious than they were before they left their homeland."

During Ramadan, all Muslims — except children, the elderly, the insane, the chronically ill and combatants — may not eat, drink, smoke, make love or have enemas from sunrise to sundown.

Yemeni-born Alkebsi explained why Muslims in the Western world are much more serious about these obligations than most of their co-religionists in the Middle East, for example:

"We have jobs. We work. I really feel my hunger and have a headache for lack of coffee. In Islamic countries, they just sleep all day and are up all night, feasting."

At the end of the month, though, Western Muslims reap one visible reward for their enduring faithfulness. Said Alkebsi, "When Ramadan is over, I am down at least 10 pounds. In the Arab countries, many people gain that much during Ramadan."

This defeats of course the purpose of Ramadan, whose observance is one of the five "pillars" of Islam, along with faith (Aqidah), prayer (Salat), purification (Zakah) by giving a portion of one's wealth to the needy, and the pilgrimage (Hajj) to Mecca once in a believer's lifetime.

Why, then, do Muslims fast during Ramadan? They commemorate what they consider God's greatest gift, the Koran. As their tradition has it, it was during the ninth month of the lunar year in approximately 610 A.D., that the archangel Gabriel told Mohammed that God had chosen him to receive his word.

In the days that followed, Mohammed found himself dictating verses to scribes. Collectively, they became the Holy Scripture of Islam. Ever since, one-thirtieth of the Book has been recited each night of the holy month in countless mosques around the world.

By the time Ramadan is over, the worshipers filling these sanctuaries to capacity will have listened to the Koran in its entirety.

Fasting is both a gift from God and a gift to him. It pleases him so much that he delights even the fasting Muslim's bad breath "is better with Allah than the fragrance of musk," the Koran says.

Yet it is not for his own benefit that God has commanded the fast, according to Alkebsi. "Rather, he gave it to us to

Faith: Ramadan rigor greatest in US United Press International November

help us be better people." The feeling of hunger and thirst makes Muslim appreciate the fate of the needy better, said **Taha Al Alwani**, President of the North American Fiqh (jurisprudence) Council.

For another thing, Ramadan teaches the believers endurance for the rest of the year and perhaps helps them stop many bad habits, such as smoking. Equally important, it instills them with a sense of community.

"We are not supposed to break the fast alone at sundown," explained Alkebsi, "We are to invite our neighbors, including our Christian and Jewish neighbors.

"Here again, I believe that we in America and Europe are the better Muslims because we do not just go through the motions as so many do in the Islamic world. We actually do invite Christians and Jews and Hindus."

However, it would probably be unfair to claim that the Ramadan routine does not have measurable effects on traditionally Muslim countries. "There is peace and tranquility. Personal hostility is at a minimum and the crime rate decreases," reported Shahid Athar, an Indian-born Muslim scholar and physician now living in Indianapolis.

How is that? Because fasting empowers man to keep unruly desires in check — greed, vengefulness and anger, for example. After all, the purpose of Ramadan is to liberate the human soul and strengthen it morally and spiritually in order to promote peace, justice, compassion, kindness, beauty, harmony, goodness and truth.

On the first day of the new Ramadan, Abdulwahab Alkebsi pleaded for its repristation in the Western world, "where it has not been corrupted." He reminded this writer of a verse from the Koran about "those who respond to their Lord, and establish regular prayer; who conduct their affairs by mutual consultation; who spend out what we bestow on them for sustenance..." (Surah 42:38).

"Mutual consultation" — it's hard to argue with Alkebsi's contention that this sounds rather democratic. Seen in this way Islam does seem more compatible with democracy than with Middle Eastern dictatorships. "Here in the United States," Alkebsi said, "Islam is more authentic than over there."

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Commentary

November 1, 2002

SECTION: No. 4, Vol. 114; Pg. 17; ISSN: 0010-2601

IAC-ACC-NO: 93974619

LENGTH: 3955 words

HEADLINE: Jihad and the professors; Islam in America

BYLINE: Pipes, Daniel

BODY:

Last spring, the faculty of Harvard College selected a graduating senior named Zayed Yasin to deliver a speech at the university's commencement exercises in June. When the title of the speech "My American Jihad"—was announced, it quite naturally aroused questions. Why, it was asked, should Harvard wish to promote the concept of jihad—or "holy war"—just months after thousands of Americans had lost their lives to a jihad carried out by nineteen suicide hijackers acting in the name of Islam? Yasin, a past president of the Harvard Islamic Society, had a ready answer. To connect jihad to warfare, he said, was to misunderstand it. Rather, "in the Muslim tradition, jihad represents a struggle to do the right thing." Its own purpose, Yasin added, was to "reclaim the word for its true meaning, which is inner struggle."

In the speech itself, Yasin would elaborate on this point:

Jihad, in its truest and purest form, the form to which all Muslims aspire, is the determination to do right, to do justice even against your own interests. It is an individual struggle for personal moral behavior.

Especially today, it is a struggle that exists on many levels:

self-purification and awareness, public service and social justice. On a global scale, it is a struggle involving people of all ages, colors, and creeds, for control of the Big Decisions: not only who controls what piece of land, but more importantly who gets medicine, who can eat.

Could this be right? To be sure, Yasin was not a scholar of Islam, and neither was the Harvard dean, Michael Shinagel, who enthusiastically endorsed his "thoughtful oration" and declared in his own name that jihad is a personal struggle "to promote justice and understanding in ourselves and in our society." But they both did accurately reflect the consensus of Islamic specialists at their institution. Thus, David Little, a Harvard professor of religion and international affairs, had stated after the attacks of September 11, 2001 that jihad "is not a license to kill," while to David Mitten, a professor of classical art and archaeology as well as faculty adviser to the Harvard Islamic Society, true jihad is "the constant struggle of Muslims to conquer their inner base instincts, to follow the path to God, and to do good in society." In a similar vein, history professor Roy Mottahedeh asserted that % majority of learned Muslim thinkers, drawing on impeccable scholarship, insist that jihad must be understood as a struggle without arms."

Nor are Harvard's scholars exceptional in this regard. The truth is that anyone seeking guidance on the all-important Islamic concept of jihad would get almost identical instruction from members of the professoriate across the United States. As I discovered through an examination of media statements by such university-based specialists, they tend to

portray the phenomenon of jihad in a remarkably similar fashion—only, the portrait happens to be false.

SEVERAL INTERLOCKING themes emerge from the more than two dozen experts I surveyed.* Only four of them admit that jihad has any military component whatsoever, and even they, with but a single exception, insist that this component is purely defensive in nature. Valerie Hoffman of the University of Illinois is unique in saying (as paraphrased by a journalist) that "no Muslim she knew would have endorsed such terrorism [as the attacks of September 11], as it goes against Islamic rules of engagement." No other scholar would go so far as even this implicit hint that jihad includes an offensive component.

Thus, John Esposito of Georgetown, perhaps the most visible academic scholar of Islam, holds that "in the struggle to be a good Muslim, there may be times where one will be called upon to defend one's faith and community. Then [jihad] can take on the meaning of armed struggle." Another specialist holding this view is Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im of Emory, who explains that "War is forbidden by the shari'a [Islamic law] except in two cases: self-defense, and the propagation of the Islamic faith." According to Blake Burleson of Baylor, what this means is that, in Islam, an act of aggression like September 11 "would not be considered a holy war."

To another half-dozen scholars in my survey, jihad may likewise include militarily defensive engagements, but this meaning is itself secondary to lofty notions of moral self-improvement. Charles Kimball, chairman of the department of religion at Wake Forest, puts it succinctly: jihad "means struggling or striving on behalf of God. The great jihad for most is a struggle against oneself. The lesser jihad is the outward, defensive jihad." Pronouncing similarly are such authorities as Mohammad Siddiqi of Western Illinois, John Iskander of Georgia State, Mark Woodard of Arizona State, **Taha** Jabir Al-**Alwani** of the graduate school of Islamic and social sciences in Leesburg, Virginia, and Barbara Stowasser of Georgetown.

But an even larger contingent—nine of those surveyed—deny that jihad has any military meaning whatsoever. For Joe Elder, a professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, the idea that jihad means holy war is "gross misinterpretation." Rather, he says, jihad is a "religious struggle, which more closely reflects the inner, personal struggles of the religion." For Dell DeChant, a professor of world religions at the University of South Florida, the word as "usually understood" means "a struggle to be true to the will of God and not holy war."

Concurring views have been voiced by, among others, John Kelsay of John Carroll University, Zahid Bukhari of Georgetown, and James Johnson of Rutgers. Roxanne Euben of Wellesley College, the author of *The Road to Kandahar: A Genealogy of Jihad in Modern Islamist Political Thought*, asserts that "For many Muslims, jihad means to resist temptation and become a better person." John Parcels, a professor of philosophy and religious studies at Georgia Southern University, defines jihad as a struggle "over the appetites and your own will." For Ned Rinalducci, a professor of sociology at Armstrong Atlantic State University, the goals of jihad are: "Internally, to be a good Muslim. Externally, to create a just society." And Farid Eiseck, professor of Islamic studies at Auburn Seminary in New York City, memorably describes jihad as "resisting apartheid or working for women's rights."

Finally, there are those academics who focus on the concept of jihad in the sense of "self-purification" and then proceed to universalize it, applying it to non-Muslims as well as Muslims. Thus, to Bruce Lawrence, a prominent professor of Islamic studies at Duke, not only is jihad itself a highly elastic term ("being a better student, a better colleague, a better business partner. Above all, to control one's anger"), but non-Muslims should also "cultivate ... a civil virtue known as jihad":

Jihad? Yes, jihad ... a jihad that would be a genuine struggle against our own myopia and neglect as much as it is against outside others who condemn or hate us for what we do, not for what we are... For us Americans, the greater jihad would mean that we must review U.S. domestic and foreign policies in a world that currently exhibits little signs of promoting justice for all.

Here we find ourselves returned to the sentiments expressed by the Harvard commencement speaker, who sought to convince his audience that jihad is something all Americans should admire.

THE TROUBLE with this accumulated wisdom of the scholars is simple to state. It suggests that Osama bin Laden

had no idea what he was saying when he declared jihad on the United States several years ago and then repeatedly murdered Americans in Somalia, at the U.S. embassies in East Africa, in the port of Aden, and then on September 11, 2001. It implies that organizations with the word "jihad" in their rifles, including Palestinian Islamic Jihad and bin Laden's own "International Islamic Front for the Jihad Against Jews and Crusade[rs]," are grossly misnamed. And what about all the Muslims waging violent and aggressive jihads, under that very name and at this very moment, in Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, Chechnya, Kashmir, Mindanao, Ambon, and other places around the world? Have they not heard that jihad is a matter of controlling one's anger?

But of course it is bin Laden, Islamic Jihad, and the jihadists worldwide who define the term, not a covey of academic apologists. More importantly, the way the jihadists understand the term is in keeping with its usage through fourteen centuries of Islamic history.

In premodern times, jihad meant mainly one thing among Sunni Muslims, then as now the Islamic majority.* It meant the legal, compulsory, communal effort to expand the territories ruled by Muslims (known in Arabic as dar al-Islam) at the expense of territories ruled by non-Muslims (dar al-harb). In this prevailing conception, the purpose of jihad is political, not religious. It aims not so much to spread the Islamic faith as to extend sovereign Muslim power (though the former has often followed the latter). The goal is boldly offensive, and its ultimate intent is nothing less than to achieve Muslim dominion over the entire world.

By winning territory and diminishing the size of areas ruled by non-Muslims, jihad accomplishes two goals: it manifests Islam's claim to replace other faiths, and it brings about the benefit of a just world order. In the words of Majid Khadduri of Johns Hopkins University, writing in 1955 (before political correctness conquered the universities), jihad is "an instrument for both the universalization of [Islamic] religion and the establishment of an imperial world state."

As for the conditions under which jihad might be undertaken—when, by whom, against whom, with what sort of declaration of war, ending how, with what division of spoils, and so on these are matters that religious scholars worked out in excruciating detail over the centuries. But about the basic meaning of jihad—warfare against unbelievers to extend Muslim domains—there was perfect consensus. For example, the most important collection of hadith (reports about the sayings and actions of Muhammad), called Sahib al-Bukhari, contains 199 references to jihad, and every one of them refers to it in the sense of armed warfare against non-Muslims. To quote the 1885 Dictionary of Islam, jihad is "an incumbent religious duty, established in the Qur'an and in the traditions [hadith] as a divine institution, and enjoined especially for the purpose of advancing Islam and of repelling evil from Muslims."

JIHAD WAS no abstract obligation through the centuries, but a key aspect of Muslim life. According to one calculation, Muhammad himself engaged in 78 battles, of which just one (the Battle of the Ditch) was defensive. Within a century after the prophet's death in 632, Muslim armies had reached as far as India in the east and Spain in the west. Though such a dramatic single expansion was never again to be repeated, important victories in subsequent centuries included the seventeen Indian campaigns of Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 998–1030), the battle of Manzikert opening Anatolia (1071), the conquest of Constantinople (1453), and the triumphs of Uthman dan Fodio in West Africa (1804–17). In brief, jihad was part of the warp and woof not only of premodern Muslim doctrine but of premodern Muslim life.

That said, jihad also had two variant meanings over the ages, one of them more radical than the standard meaning and one quite pacific. The first, mainly associated with the thinker Ibn Taymiya (1268–1328), holds that born Muslims who fail to live up to the requirements of their faith are themselves to be considered unbelievers, and so legitimate targets of jihad. This tended to come in handy when (as was often the case) one Muslim ruler made war against another; only by portraying the enemy as not properly Muslim could the war be dignified as a jihad.

The second variant, usually associated with Sufis, or Muslim mystics, was the doctrine customarily translated as "greater jihad" but perhaps more usefully termed "higher jihad." This Sufi variant invokes allegorical modes of interpretation to turn jihad's literal meaning of armed conflict upside-down, calling instead for a withdrawal from the world to struggle against one's baser instincts in pursuit of numinous awareness and spiritual depth. But as Rudolph Peters notes in his authoritative

Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam (1995), this interpretation was "hardly touched upon" in premodern legal writings on jihad.

IN THE vast majority of premodern cases, then, jihad signified one thing only: armed action versus non-Muslims. In modern times, things have of course become somewhat more complicated, as Islam has undergone contradictory changes

resulting from its contact with Western influences. Muslims having to cope with the West have tended to adopt one of three broad approaches: Islamist, reformist, or secularist. For the purposes of this discussion, we may put aside the secularists (such as Kemal Ataturk), for they reject jihad in its entirety, and instead focus on the Islamists and reformists. Both have fastened on the variant meanings of jihad to develop their own interpretations.

Islamists, besides adhering to the primary conception of jihad as armed warfare against infidels, have also adopted as their own Ibn Taymiya's call to target impious Muslims. This approach acquired increased salience through the 20th century as Islamist thinkers like Hasan al-Banna (1906–49), Sayyid Qutb (1906–66), Abu al-A'la Mawdudi (1903–79), and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1903–89) promoted jihad against putatively Muslim rulers who failed to live up to or apply the laws of Islam. The revolutionaries who overthrew the shah of Iran in 1979 and the assassins who gunned down President Anwar Sadat of Egypt two years later overtly held to this doctrine. So does Osama bin Laden.

Reformists, by contrast, reinterpret Islam to make it compatible with Western ways. It is they—principally through the writings of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a 19th-century reformist leader in India—who have worked to transform the idea of jihad into a purely defensive undertaking compatible with the premises of international law. This approach, characterized in 1965 by the definitive Encyclopedia of Islam as "wholly apologetic," owes far more to Western than to Islamic thinking. In our own day, it has devolved further into what Martin Kramer has dubbed "a kind of Oriental Quakerism," and it, together with a revival of the Sufi notion of "greater jihad," is what has emboldened some to deny that jihad has any martial component whatsoever, instead redefining the idea into a purely spiritual or social activity.

For most Muslims in the world today, these moves away from the old sense of jihad are rather remote. They neither see their own rulers as targets deserving of jihad nor are they ready to become Quakers. Instead, the classic notion of jihad continues to resonate with vast numbers of them, as Alfred Morabia, a foremost French scholar of the topic, noted in 1993:

Offensive, bellicose jihad, the one codified by the specialists and theologians, has not ceased to awaken an echo in the Muslim consciousness, both individual and collective... To be sure, contemporary apologists present a picture of this religious obligation that conforms well to the contemporary norms of human rights, ... but the people are not convinced by this... The overwhelming majority of Muslims remain under the spiritual sway of a law ... whose key requirement is the demand, not to speak of the hope, to make the Word of God triumph everywhere in the world.

In brief, jihad in the raw remains a powerful force in the Muslim world, and this goes far to explain the immense appeal of a figure like Osama bin Laden in the immediate aftermath of September 11, 2001.

Contrary to the graduating Harvard senior who assured his audience that "Jihad is not something that should make someone feel uncomfortable," this concept has caused and continues to cause not merely discomfort but untold human suffering: in the words of the Swiss specialist Bat Ye'or, "war, dispossession, dhimmitude [subordination], slavery, and death." As Bat Ye'or points out, Muslims "have the right as Muslims to say that jihad is just and spiritual" if they so wish; but by the same token, any truly honest accounting would have to give voice to the countless "infidels who were and are the victims of jihad" and who, no less than the victims of Nazism or Communism, have "their own opinion of the jihad that targets them."

ISLAMISTS SEEKING to advance their agenda within Western, non-Muslim environments—for example, as lobbyists in Washington, D.C.—cannot frankly divulge their views and still remain players in the political game. So as not to arouse fears and so as not to isolate themselves, these individuals and organizations usually cloak their true outlook in moderate language, at least when addressing the non-Muslim public. When referring to jihad, they adopt the terminology of reformists, presenting warfare as decidedly secondary to the goal of inner struggle and social betterment. Thus, the Council on American–Islamic Relations (CAIR), the most aggressive and prominent Islamist group in the United States, insists that jihad "does not mean 'holy war'" but rather is a "broad Islamic concept that includes struggle against evil inclinations within oneself, struggle to improve the quality of life in society, struggle in the battlefield for self-defense (e.g., having a standing army for national defense), or fighting against tyranny or oppression."

This sort of talk is pure disinformation, reminiscent of the language of Soviet front groups in decades past. A dramatic example of it was on offer at the trial of John Walker Lindh, the Marin County teenager who went off to wage jihad on behalf of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. At his sentencing in early October, Lindh told the court that, in common with "mainstream Muslims around the world," he himself understood jihad as a variety of activities ranging "from striving to overcome one's own personal faults, to speaking out for the truth in adverse circumstances, to military action in defense of justice."

That a jihadist caught in the act of offensive armed warfare should unashamedly proffer so mealy-mouthed a definition of his actions may seem extraordinary. But it is perfectly in tune with the explaining-away of jihad promoted by academic specialists, as well as by Islamist organizations engaging in public relations. For usage of the term in its plain meaning, we have to turn to Islamists not so engaged. Such Islamists speak openly of jihad in its proper, martial sense. Here is Osama bin Laden: Allah "orders us to carry out the holy struggle, jihad, to raise the word of Allah above the words of the unbelievers." And here is Mullah Muhammad Omar, the former head of the Taliban regime, exhorting Muslim youth: "Head for jihad and have your guns ready."

IT IS an intellectual scandal that, since September 11, 2001, scholars at American universities have repeatedly and all but unanimously issued public statements that avoid or whitewash the primary meaning of jihad in Islamic law and Muslim history. It is quite as if historians of medieval Europe were to deny that the word "crusade" ever had martial overtones, instead pointing to such terms as "crusade on hunger" or "crusade against drugs" to demonstrate that the term signifies an effort to improve society.

Among today's academic specialists who have undertaken to sanitize this key Islamic concept, many are no doubt acting out of the impulses of political correctness and the multiculturalist urge to protect a non-Western civilization from criticism by making it appear just like our own. As for Islamists among those academics, at least some have a different purpose: like CAIR and other, similar organizations, they are endeavoring to camouflage a threatening concept by rendering it in terms acceptable within university discourse. Non-Muslim colleagues who play along with this deception may be seen as having effectively assumed the role of dhimmi, the Islamic term for a Christian or Jew living under Muslim rule who is tolerated so long as he bends the knee and accepts Islam's superiority.

As I can attest, one who dares to dissent and utter the truth on the matter of jihad falls under enormous censure—and not just in universities. In June of this year, in a debate with an Islamist on ABC's Nightline, I stated: "The fact is, historically speaking I speak as a historian—jihad has meant expanding the realm of Islam through armed warfare." More recently, on a PBS Lehrer News Hour program about alleged discrimination against Muslims in the United States, a clip was shown of a role-playing seminar, conducted by the Muslim Public Affairs Council, in which Muslim "activists" were practicing how to deal with "hostile" critics. As part of this exercise, my image was shown to the seminar as I spoke my sentence from the Nightline debate. The comment on this scene by the show's PBS narrator ran as follows: "Muslim activists have been troubled by critics who have publicly condemned Islam as a violent and evil religion." We have thus reached a point where merely to state a well-known fact about Islam earns one the status of a hostile bigot on a prestigious and publicly funded television show.

AMERICANS STRUGGLING to make sense of the war declared on them in the name of jihad, whether they are policymakers, journalists, or citizens, have every reason to be deeply confused as to who their enemy is and what his goals are. Even people who think they know that jihad means holy war are susceptible to the combined efforts of scholars and Islamists brandishing notions like "resisting apartheid or working for women's rights." The result is to becloud reality, obstructing the possibility of achieving a clear, honest understanding of what and whom we are fighting, and why.

It is for this reason that the nearly universal falsification of jihad on the part of American academic scholars is an issue of far-reaching consequence. It should be a matter of urgent concern not only to anyone connected with or directly affected by university life—other faculty members, administrators, alumni, state and federal representatives, parents of students, students themselves—but to us all.

* To see what the public is told, I looked at op-ed pieces, quotations in newspaper articles, and interviews on television rather than at articles in learned journals.

* The following analysis relies on Douglas Streusand, "What Does Jihad Mean?," Middle East Quarterly, September 1997.

DANIEL PIPES is the director of the Middle East Forum and the author most recently of *Militant Islam Reaches*

Jihad and the professors; Islam in America Commentary November 1, 2002

America (Norton), several of whose chapters are drawn from work first published in COMMENTARY. This essay is adapted from a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the National Association of Scholars in June 2002. The Middle East Forum has recently launched www.Campus-Watch.org to monitor, assess, and improve the field of Middle Eastern studies.

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Ethnic News

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Commentary MagazineNovember 1, 2002**SECTION:** Vol. 114, No. 4; Pg. 17-21**ACC-NO:** CM2002110101**LENGTH:** 3808 words**HEADLINE:** Jihad and the professors**BYLINE:** Pipes, Daniel**BODY:**

LAST SPRING, the faculty of Harvard College selected a graduating senior named Zayed Yasin to deliver a speech at the university's commencement exercises in June. When the title of the speech—"My American Jihad"—was announced, it quite naturally aroused questions. Why, it was asked, should Harvard wish to promote the concept of jihad—or "holy war"—just months after thousands of Americans had lost their lives to a jihad carried out by nineteen suicide hijackers acting in the name of Islam? Yasin, a past president of the Harvard Islamic Society, had a ready answer. To connect jihad to warfare, he said, was to misunderstand it. Rather, "in the Muslim tradition, jihad represents a struggle to do the right thing." His own purpose, Yasin added, was to "reclaim the word for its true meaning, which is inner struggle."

In the speech itself, Yasin would elaborate on this point:

Jihad, in its truest and purest form, the form to which all Muslims aspire, is the determination to do right, to do justice even against your own interests. It is an individual struggle for personal moral behavior. Especially today, it is a struggle that exists on many levels: self-purification and awareness, public service and social justice. On a global scale, it is a struggle involving people of all ages, colors, and creeds, for control of the Big Decisions: not only who controls what piece of land, but more importantly who gets medicine, who can eat.

Could this be right? To be sure, Yasin was not a scholar of Islam, and neither was the Harvard dean, Michael Shinagel, who enthusiastically endorsed his "thoughtful oration" and declared in his own name that jihad is a personal struggle "to promote justice and understanding in ourselves and in our society." But they both did accurately reflect the consensus of Islamic specialists at their institution. Thus, David Little, a Harvard professor of religion and international affairs, had stated after the attacks of September 11, 2001 that jihad "is not a license to kill," while to David Mitten, a professor of classical art and archaeology as well as faculty adviser to the Harvard Islamic Society, true jihad is "the constant struggle of Muslims to conquer their inner base instincts, to follow the path to God, and to do good in society." In a similar vein, history professor Roy Mottahedeh asserted that "a majority of learned Muslim thinkers, drawing on impeccable scholarship, insist that jihad must be understood as a struggle without arms."

Nor are Harvard's scholars exceptional in this regard. The truth is that anyone seeking guidance on the all-important Islamic concept of jihad would get almost identical instruction from members of the professoriate across the United States. As I discovered through an examination of media statements by such university-based specialists, they tend to portray the phenomenon of jihad in a remarkably similar fashion—only, the portrait happens to be false.

SEVERAL INTERLOCKING themes emerge from the more than two dozen experts I surveyed.* Only four of them admit that jihad has any military component whatsoever, and even they, with but a single exception, insist that this component is purely defensive in nature. Valerie Hoffman of the University of Illinois is unique in saying (as paraphrased by a journalist) that "no Muslim she knew would have endorsed such terrorism [as the attacks of September 11], as it goes

against Islamic rules of engagement." No other scholar would go so far as even this implicit hint that jihad includes an offensive component.

Thus, John Esposito of Georgetown, perhaps the most visible academic scholar of Islam, holds that "in the struggle to be a good Muslim, there may be times where one will be called upon to defend one's faith and community. Then [jihad] can take on the meaning of armed struggle." Another specialist holding this view is Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im of Emory, who explains that "War is forbidden by the shari's [Islamic law] except in two cases: self-defense, and the propagation of the Islamic faith." According to Blake Burleson of Baylor, what this means is that, in Islam, an act of aggression like September 11 "would not be considered a holy war."

To another half-dozen scholars in my survey, jihad may likewise include militarily defensive engagements, but this meaning is itself secondary to lofty notions of moral self-improvement. Charles Kimball, chairman of the department of religion at Wake Forest, puts it succinctly: jihad "means struggling or striving on behalf of God. The great jihad for most is a struggle against oneself. The lesser jihad is the outward, defensive jihad." Pronouncing similarly are such authorities as Mohammad Sid-ii of Western Illinois, John Iskander of Georgia State, Mark Woodard of Arizona State, **Taha Jabir Al-Alwani** of the graduate school of Islamic and social sciences in Leesburg, Virginia, and Barbara Stowasser of Georgetown.

But an even larger contingent—nine of those surveyed—deny that jihad has any military meaning whatsoever. For Joe Elder, a professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, the idea that jihad means holy war is "a gross misinterpretation." Rather, he says, jihad is a "religious struggle, which more closely reflects the inner, personal struggles of the religion." For Dell DeChant, a professor of world religions at the University of South Florida, the word as "usually understood" means "a struggle to be true to the will of God and not holy war."

Concurring views have been voiced by, among others, John Kelsay of John Carroll University, Zahid Bukhari of Georgetown, and James Johnson of Rutgers. Roxanne Euben of Wellesley College, the author of *The Road to Kandahar: A Genealogy of Jihad in Modern Islamist Political Thought*, asserts that "For many Muslims, jihad means to resist temptation and become a better person." John Parcels, a professor of philosophy and religious studies at Georgia Southern University, defines jihad as a struggle "over the appetites and your own will." For Ned Rinalducci, a professor of sociology at Armstrong Atlantic State University, the goals of jihad are: "Internally, to be a good Muslim. Externally, to create a just society." And Farid Eiseck, professor of Islamic studies at Auburn Seminary in New York City, memorably describes jihad as "resisting apartheid or working for women's rights."

Finally, there are those academics who focus on the concept of jihad in the sense of "self-purification" and then proceed to universalize it, applying it to non-Muslims as well as Muslims. Thus, to Bruce Lawrence, a prominent professor of Islamic studies at Duke, not only is jihad itself a highly elastic term ("being a better student, a better colleague, a better business partner. Above all, to control one's anger"), but non-Muslims should also "cultivate... a civil virtue known as jihad":

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That said, jihad also had two variant meanings over the ages, one of them more radical than the standard meaning and one quite pacific. The first, mainly associated with the thinker Ibn Taymiya (1268–1328), holds that born Muslims who fail to live up to the requirements of their faith are themselves to be considered unbelievers, and so legitimate targets of jihad. This tended to come in handy when (as was often the case) one Muslim ruler made war against another; only by portraying the enemy as not properly Muslim could the war be dignified as a jihad.

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Contrary to the graduating Harvard senior who assured his audience that "Jihad is not something that should make someone feel uncomfortable," this concept has caused and continues to cause not merely discomfort but untold human suffering: in the words of the Swiss specialist Bat Ye'or, "war, dispossession, dhimmitude [subordination], slavery, and death." As Bat Ye'or points out, Muslims "have the right as Muslims to say that jihad is just and spiritual" if they so wish; but by the same token, any truly honest accounting would have to give voice to the countless "infidels who were and are the victims of jihad" and who, no less than the victims of Nazism or Communism, have "their own opinion of the jihad that targets them."

ISLAMISTS SEEKING to advance their agenda within Western, non-Muslim environments—for example, as lobbyists in Washington, D.C.—cannot frankly divulge their views and still remain players in the political game. So as not to arouse fears and so as not to isolate themselves, these individuals and organizations usually cloak their true outlook in moderate language, at least when addressing the non-Muslim public. When referring to jihad, they adopt the terminology of reformists, presenting warfare as decidedly secondary to the goal of inner struggle and social betterment. Thus, the Council on American–Islamic Relations (CAIR), the most aggressive and prominent Islamist group in the United States, insists that jihad "does not mean 'holy war'" but rather is a "broad Islamic concept that includes struggle against evil inclinations within oneself, struggle to improve the quality of life in society, struggle in the battlefield for self-defense (e.g., having a standing army for national defense), or fighting against tyranny or oppression."

This sort of talk is pure disinformation, reminiscent of the language of Soviet front groups in decades past. A dramatic example of it was on offer at the trial of John Walker Lindh, the Marin County teenager who went off to wage jihad on behalf of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. At his sentencing in early October, Lindh told the court that, in common with "mainstream Muslims around the world," he himself understood jihad as a variety of activities ranging "from striving to overcome one's own personal faults, to speaking out for the truth in adverse circumstances, to military action in defense of justice."

That a jihadist caught in the act of offensive armed warfare should unashamedly proffer so mealy-mouthed a definition of his actions may seem extraordinary. But it is perfectly in tune with the explaining-away of jihad promoted by academic specialists, as well as by Islamist organizations engaging in public relations. For usage of the term in its plain meaning, we have to turn to Islamists not so engaged. Such Islamists speak openly of jihad in its proper, martial sense. Here is Osama bin Laden: Allah "orders us to carry out the holy struggle, jihad, to raise the word of Allah above the words of the unbelievers." And here is Mullah Muhammad Omar, the former head of the Taliban regime, exhorting Muslim youth:

"Head for jihad and have your guns ready."

IT IS an intellectual scandal that, since September 11, 2001, scholars at American universities have repeatedly and all but unanimously issued public statements that avoid or whitewash the primary meaning of jihad in Islamic law and Muslim history. It is quite as if historians of medieval Europe were to deny that the word "crusade" ever had martial overtones, instead pointing to such terms as "crusade on hunger" or "crusade against drugs" to demonstrate that the term signifies an effort to improve society.

Among today's academic specialists who have undertaken to sanitize this key Islamic concept, many are no doubt acting out of the impulses of political correctness and the multiculturalist urge to protect a non-Western civilization from criticism by making it appear just like our own. As for Islamists among those academics, at least some have a different purpose: like CAIR and other, similar organizations, they are endeavoring to camouflage a threatening concept by rendering it in terms acceptable within university discourse. Non-Muslim colleagues who play along with this deception may be seen as having effectively assumed the role of dhimmi, the Islamic term for a Christian or Jew living under Muslim rule who is tolerated so long as he bends the knee and accepts Islam's superiority.

As I can attest, one who dares to dissent and utter the truth on the matter of jihad falls under enormous censure—and not just in universities. In June of this year, in a debate with an Islamist on ABC's Nightline, I stated: "The fact is, historically speaking—I speak as a historian—jihad has meant expanding the realm of Islam through armed warfare." More recently, on a PBS Lehrer NewsHour program about alleged discrimination against Muslims in the United States, a clip was shown of a role-playing seminar, conducted by the Muslim Public Affairs Council, in which Muslim "activists" were practicing how to deal with "hostile" critics. As part of this exercise, my image was shown to the seminar as I spoke my sentence from the Nightline debate. The comment on this scene by the show's PBS narrator ran as follows: "Muslim activists have been troubled by critics who have publicly condemned Islam as a violent and evil religion." We have thus reached a point where merely to state a well-known fact about Islam earns one the status of a hostile bigot on a prestigious and publicly funded television show.

AMERICANS STRUGGLING to make sense of the war declared on them in the name of jihad, whether they are policymakers, journalists, or citizens, have every reason to be deeply confused as to who their enemy is and what his goals are. Even people who think they know that jihad means holy war are susceptible to the combined efforts of scholars and Islamists brandishing notions like "resisting apartheid or working for women's rights." The result is to becloud reality, obstructing the possibility of achieving a clear, honest understanding of what and whom we are fighting, and why.

It is for this reason that the nearly universal falsification of jihad on the part of American academic scholars is an issue of far-reaching consequence. It should be a matter of urgent concern not only to anyone connected with or directly affected by university life—other faculty members, administrators, alumni, state and federal representatives, parents of students, students themselves—but to us all.

LOAD-DATE: November 7, 2002

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Calgary Herald (Alberta, Canada)

October 7, 2002 Monday Final Edition

SECTION: News; Pg. A1 / FRONT

LENGTH: 773 words

HEADLINE: Top U.S. Muslim groups linked to terrorism money: Moderates insulted

SOURCE: The Washington Post

BYLINE: Douglas Farah and John Mintz

BODY:

Six months after they raided the Northern Virginia headquarters of some of the U.S.'s most respected Muslim leaders, federal agents say they are pursuing a trail of intriguing clues in a top-priority search for evidence of tax evasion and financial ties to terrorists.

Federal and European investigators say that several lines of inquiry have emerged from their review of documents and computer files they carted off in a dozen panel trucks from offices and homes affiliated with the Herndon, Va.-based SAAR Foundation, a tight-knit cluster of prominent Muslim groups funded by wealthy Saudis.

One avenue of investigation is the alleged transfer of millions of dollars from the SAAR network to two overseas bankers who have been designated by the U.S. government as terrorist financiers. Another is the network officials' history of ties to the militant Muslim Brotherhood.

A third part of the investigation concerns a key mystery: whether an astonishing \$1.8 billion in gifts passed through the SAAR Foundation in a single year, 1998. SAAR leaders reported that sum on a tax form, but later said it was a clerical error.

Agents are struggling to sort through and translate rooms full of documents — many in Arabic — and chasing leads in 17 countries. U.S. officials call the investigation one of the highest priorities of Operation Green Quest, the U.S. Customs Service task force formed after Sept. 11 to wage a financial war on terror.

The probe is part of a global crackdown the U.S. government has launched to stem the funding of terror groups since Sept. 11. That crackdown has targeted a number of large Muslim charities here and abroad.

The investigation of the SAAR officials infuriates some members of the Muslim community, who insist the men are among the most moderate and progressive figures in American Islam. One of the raided institutions, for example, was denounced by Islamic radicals for issuing a "fatwa" or Islamic ruling that allowed Muslims in the U.S. military to fight in Afghanistan. Several people whose homes were raided advise the Defense and State departments on Islamic matters.

"My clients are absolutely not involved in any way in supporting terrorism," said Washington attorney Nancy Luque, who represents most of the individuals and groups raided. "It's a smearing."

Taha Jabir Al-**Alwani**, who has been part of the Herndon groups for years, said the searches of his home and the Leesburg, Va.-based Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences that he runs reminded him of the tactics of the secret police in his native Iraq.

"I'm moderate, I'm serving this country and I'm innocent of these suspicions," said Al-Alwani, whose institute trained 10 of the U.S. military's 14 Muslim chaplains. "I'm trying to convince Muslims in the U.S. this is our home, we must defend this country."

Top U.S. Muslim groups linked to terrorism money: Moderates insulted Cal

The SAAR network consists of more than 100 Muslim think tanks, charities and companies, many of which are linked by overlapping boards of directors, shared offices and the circular movement of money, according to tax forms and federal investigators. The network, named for Sulaiman Abdul Aziz al-Rajhi, patriarch of the Saudi family that funded it, gives to charities, invests in companies and sponsors research, all with a goal of fostering the growth of Islam.

The SAAR Foundation officially dissolved in December 2000, and many of its functions were taken over by another group, Safa Trust, run by many of the same people.

Government officials say the investigation of the SAAR groups, which began with a probe of anti-Israel activists in Florida in 1996 and intensified after the Sept. 11 attacks, has not traced money from the SAAR entities to the al-Qaeda terrorist network. But U.S. and European investigators say they have uncovered information in the Bahamas and Europe that in recent years some SAAR entities' funds have moved to two men, Youssef Nada and Ahmed Idris Nasreddin, designated by the United States as terrorist financiers. The funds moved through two offshore banks in the Bahamas that the pair controlled, officials said.

The institutions, Bank al Taqwa and Akida Bank Private Ltd., have been designated conduits for terrorist funds by the U.S. Treasury Department. In recent months they were shut down by Bahamian authorities under U.S. pressure. In an August report, Treasury said the banks "have been involved in financing radical groups" including Hamas and al-Qaeda, both before and after the Sept. 11 attacks.

Bank al Taqwa and Bank Akida were described by the Treasury Department on Aug. 29 as "shell companies" that were "not functional banking institutions."

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Ethnic NewsWatch
Forward

September 6, 2002

SECTION: Vol. CVI; No. 31; Pg. 1

SLI-ACC-NO: 1002F2DM 104 000152

LENGTH: 1424 words

HEADLINE: Out of the Mosques and Into the Voting Booths: Regrouping After 9/11, Muslim Americans Flex Political Muscle at Capital Confab

BYLINE: Nir, Ori

BODY:

WASHINGTON — A year after militant Muslims committed the deadliest act of terrorism in American history, sparking anti-Islamic sentiment across the nation, thousands of Muslim Americans gathered here last weekend in an unexpected show of force, reasserting their decade-long commitment to get more involved in American politics.

Energizing more than 20,000 conventioners at the 39th annual convention of the Islamic Society of North America, community leaders intensified their efforts to make Muslim Americans a force to be reckoned with in American politics. They urged Muslims to register to vote, write letters to the editors of newspapers and get active in public forums from PTAs to local governments.

The drive to get Muslim Americans more involved in politics is not new — community leaders have been making such efforts for more than a decade. What is significant now is the effort made by community leaders to turn the post-September 11 vulnerability and defensiveness of Muslim Americans into a political and electoral asset; to turn the fear from retribution and the urge to prove their civic loyalty to the American public into political power.

"We must get more involved in the political system," appealed Nihad Awad, executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations. "We must get more involved in the social system. And we must pay attention to our country, to America."

ISNA, a coalition that describes itself as the largest grassroots national organization of Muslims, is based in Indiana. In the past, it held most of its annual conventions in the Midwest, close to the large Muslim communities in Illinois and Michigan. This year, it was decided to convene in the nation's capital, said organizers, in order to put the gathering in a political context, give participants a sense of legitimacy and empowerment, and gain media exposure. Conventioners, mostly young professionals and students, sported red-white-and-blue stickers that said: "Proud to be a Muslim." To the organizers' delight, C-SPAN carried many of the convention's sessions live on a news-poor Labor Day weekend.

Out of the Mosques and Into the Voting Booths: Regrouping After 9/11,Mus

Conventioneers roared approval when speakers insisted that there is no contradiction between Islam and the American way of life. "We aim to preserve our Islamic identity as American citizens," said Salam al-Marayati, president of the Muslim Public Affairs Council. "We will let our voices be heard for the sake of upholding our Islamic moral obligations, as we all make a pledge to be citizens of the United States." Still, many of the voices in the convention were very critical of Washington's policy in the Middle East, particularly of its strong support for Israel.

The drive for the integration of Muslim citizens into the fabric of American public life comes after years of self-imposed isolation.

For years, community leaders said, Muslim Americans tended to focus inward, building mosques and Islamic schools and assisting Muslims in need worldwide, rather than building bridges to the surrounding American society. Many viewed American society as libertine and materialistic and a cultural threat to be resisted, and integration into the fabric of public life as a slippery slope toward assimilation. As a result, "we pretty much remained behind the mosque's doors," said Rizwan Jaka, chairman of the conference's steering committee and president of a large Muslim congregation in Northern Virginia.

Then came September 11. "Our community was twice traumatized: once by the horrible tragedy, and then by the fears of retaliations and the like," Jaka said. The months that followed brought about an ugly wave of anti-Muslim attacks, varying from murder to assault to desecration of sanctuaries. Muslims of Middle Eastern origin were profiled in airports, and offended in the workplace. With time, Muslim leaders rebuilt their self-confidence, took part in interfaith activities with churches and synagogues, and realized that they can use the crisis politically to emancipate their community and to transform its relations with the American public.

Guidelines to a Muslim-American political agenda can be found in a "candidate survey" that CAIR encourages its activists to conduct. Candidates for public office are requested to state their positions on issues including: prohibition of profiling of Muslim Americans by law enforcement officials; moving the American embassy in Israel to Jerusalem; self-determination for Kashmir; abortion; voluntary prayer in public schools; school vouchers, and federal and state funding for welfare.

To encourage voter registration, the American Muslim Council appealed to **Taha Jaber al-Alwani**, one of the chief experts in Muslim jurisprudence in North America, to publish an Islamic ruling, or fatwa, regarding the advisability of participating in American elections. Al-Alwani's reply was an unqualified yes.

CAIR is currently sponsoring a voter registration drive, aiming to register 100,000 Muslims before the November elections. Muslims are the fastest growing religious community in the United States. A Pew Trust survey published last year estimated that the number of Muslims living in the United States is 7 million. Other estimates range between 3 and 5 million.

"If Muslims vote in bloc, their numbers may be enough to tip the balance in favor of the candidate that we support," says CAIR's voter registration guide, one of a series of publications to encourage Muslim political participation — and discourage, no doubt, the perception, from inside and outside the Jewish community, that CAIR has a more radical agenda that includes condoning terrorism by Palestinian groups.

Out of the Mosques and Into the Voting Booths: Regrouping After 9/11,Mus

Critics accuse organizations such as CAIR and the American Muslim Council as supporting militants, including terrorists, while enjoying a public image of moderates, even in the eyes of much of the Bush administration. Investigative reporters, politicians and pundits have exposed, during the last year, a series of public statements made by senior CAIR and AMC officials in support of the terrorist group Hamas.

David Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Committee, warned that such organizations claim to represent Muslim moderation, but they actually are "spokesmen for Muslim radicalism," an accusation sharply denied by CAIR and AMC leaders. (Please see related opinion article, Page 13)

Speakers at last weekend's ISNA conference repeatedly condemned terrorism — particularly that of Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda — while voicing support for what they termed the Palestinian struggle against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. There were also repeated condemnations of so-called "state terrorism" by Israel.

For now, though, Muslim Americans don't seem to have a chance to make a dent in the ardent pro-Israeli positions of both the White House and Congress. On domestic social issues, their conservative positions are described as a "drop in the bucket" compared to the power of the Christian right, and on issues of civil rights there is hardly any dispute — indeed there is a measure of cooperation — between Muslim and Jewish organizations.

But in the long run, Harris said, "the Jewish community had better rise to recognize that these Muslim organizations are determined to chip away at our achievements," and "drive a wedge between the U.S. and Israel."

Both American Jews and Muslims know that the Muslim community is far from fully translating its numbers into political power. Many Muslims residing in the United States are recent immigrants who are not yet naturalized. The community is fragmented, made up of immigrants from more than 80 countries, approximately one-fifth African Americans and about one-fifth converts to Islam, according to a survey published last November by the Zogby International group.

The Zogby survey did demonstrate that Muslim citizens tend to participate in public life. A large majority, 79%, were registered to vote, and of them 71% said they intend to vote. But Muslim voters seem to be divided. About 40% said they are Democrats and 23% Republicans; 28% defined themselves as independent. Most of them voted for George Bush two years ago, a decision some now deeply regret, judging by speakers' statements and the audience's reactions during the ISNA convention.

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JOURNAL-CODE: F2

LOAD-DATE: January 13, 2003

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St. John's Telegram (Newfoundland)

June 1, 2002 Saturday Final Edition

SECTION: International; Pg. D16

LENGTH: 542 words

HEADLINE: New FBI leeway causes uneasiness

SOURCE: The Associated Press

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON – Who's keeping tabs on your Internet chat? Who's in the next pew or on the next prayer rug? Who's got their eye on you at the library?

Could be the FBI, under rules announced this week that give agents more leeway in domestic spying just about anywhere people congregate publicly — including cyberspace.

That makes some people uneasy, but others say law-abiding citizens have no reason to fear, reflecting the ambivalence with many people have felt since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

"That's a difficult one," said Mo Bey, pondering the new FBI guidelines before heading into the Islamic Center of Washington for prayers. "I don't think that citizens should be violated because of their religious affiliations. But Americans need to be attentive to terrorist movements."

Librarians, Internet surfers and other people expressed similar feelings of disquiet about someone monitoring them — even if their activity is right out in public.

"There could be agents in the library looking at what people are reading, looking over someone's shoulder while they're on the Internet," said Emily Sheketoff of the American Library Association. "What I'm afraid of as an American citizen is that they're going to look at the kinds of magazines I subscribe to and the kinds of things I'm interested in and use that as probable cause" to investigate further.

Armed with its new authority, the FBI could have had an eyeful Thursday if agents had poked around the Internet checking comments that people posted on electronic bulletin boards.

"The march to a police state goes on," complained one.

"I thought there was a set of laws protecting citizens against this sort of thing, such as The Bill of Rights," said another.

"I don't see any problem here," said a third. "So they can go to any public place you and I can go. Why is that a problem?"

Picking up fares on the streets of Washington, taxi driver Mazaffar Raja, who emigrated from Karachi, Pakistan, said he just wants to be able to worship in peace.

"It doesn't violate my privacy as long as they don't disturb the prayer," he said.

But there were worries the law could be applied selectively — to single out mosques, for example, or to spy on people for no good reason.

"We were thinking we were part of this nation," said Taha Al-Alwani, president of the Graduate School of Islamic

New FBI leeway causes uneasiness St. John's Telegram (Newfoundland)

and Social Sciences in Leesburg, Va.

"Now we feel there are things to isolate us from the American community and to look at us in this way which is unacceptable."

It wasn't just Muslims who were concerned.

Russ Siler, an official of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, said the government already has plenty of tools to fight terrorism. "We need to be very, very careful when, in the name of protecting our liberties and freedoms, we begin to take those liberties a little too much for granted," he said.

Richard Land of the Southern Baptist Convention reflected the mixed feelings of many when he said of the new rules: "I would not say it's a good thing, I would say it's a necessary thing."

If it takes monitoring religious sites, among others, to find suspected terrorists, "so be it," he said. "I don't see why churches should be exempt from the law."

LOAD-DATE: June 1, 2002

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Copyright 2002 Capital City Press
The Advocate (Baton Rouge, Louisiana)

May 31, 2002, Friday METRO EDITION

SECTION: News; Pg. 5-A

LENGTH: 736 words

HEADLINE: Some uneasy at loosening of restrictions

BYLINE: NANCY BENAC

BODY:

WASHINGTON - Who's keeping tabs on your Internet chat? Who's in the next pew or on the next prayer rug? Who's got their eye on you at the library?

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"That's a difficult one," said Mo Bey, pondering the new FBI guidelines before heading into the Islamic Center of Washington for prayers. "I don't think that citizens should be violated because of their religious affiliations. But Americans need to be attentive to terrorist movements.

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Still, Land added, "I would hope that the FBI would make it clear that these are temporary measures and that once the state of emergency that we now face is over, that they would return to guidelines that are more in keeping with normal times."

Ghazi Khankan, interfaith affairs director of the Islamic Center of Long Island and a leader of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, said it would be good for the FBI to visit mosques and see that Muslims are peace-loving people. In fact, he said, his group 10 days ago wrote to the FBI's New York office inviting officials to visit.

At the same time, he worried aloud that if the FBI used its new authority to focus "on one particular community, then it is wrong and then we would speak against it."

For some people, unease about the government going too far stemmed from memories of abuses in decades past.

"It depends on how you do it," said John Kupcinski, a college student at the University of Maryland in College Park, recalling the days of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI excesses and Joseph McCarthy's anti-communist crusade. "We don't want the government to now say, 'You're a terrorist. You're a terrorist.' "

LOAD-DATE: May 31, 2002

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The Halifax Daily News (Nova Scotia)

May 31, 2002 Friday DAILY Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 484 words

HEADLINE: Americans fear police state will arise from new FBI rules

SOURCE: AP

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

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The Star-Ledger Newark, NJ

May 31, 2002 Friday
FINAL Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 013

LENGTH: 729 words

HEADLINE: FBI can now snoop on you just about anywhere in public – Broader powers raise concerns, but others say there's no need to worry

BYLINE: NANCY BENAC, ASSOCIATED PRESS

BODY:

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LOAD-DATE: April 27, 2005

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Winnipeg Free Press

May 31, 2002 Friday
Metro Edition

SECTION: WORLD WIRE; Pg. b4

LENGTH: 545 words

HEADLINE: FBI allowed to expand domestic spying Decisions pushed to field offices, many in U.S. fear abuse of new law

BYLINE: CP Wire

BODY:

WASHINGTON — Who's keeping tabs on your Internet chat? Who's in the next pew or on the next prayer rug? Who's got their eye on you at the library?

Could be the FBI, under rules announced yesterday that give agents more leeway in domestic spying just about anywhere that people congregate publicly — including cyberspace.

That makes some people uneasy, but others say law-abiding citizens have no reason to fear, reflecting the ambivalence with many people have felt since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

Attorney General John Ashcroft freed the FBI to monitor Internet sites, libraries, churches and political organizations, calling restrictions on domestic spying "a competitive advantage for terrorists."

Under revamped guidelines, agents can attend public meetings for the purpose of preventing terrorism. The old guidelines issued in the 1970s were aimed at solving crimes already committed.

The revised guidelines will push the decision-making for an array of investigative steps away from FBI headquarters in Washington and down to individual offices around the country.

The special agents in charge of each office will hold the keys to setting investigative steps in motion.

"These major changes will free field agents to pursue terrorists vigorously without waiting for headquarters to act," said Ashcroft. He said agents in the field "are frustrated because many of our internal restrictions have hampered" their efforts to move quickly on investigations.

The American Civil Liberties Union said the lifting of restrictions could renew abuses of the past.

Martin Luther King's "persecution by law enforcement is a necessary reminder of the potential abuse when a government with too long a leash seeks to silence voices of dissent," said ACLU legislative counsel Marvin Johnson.

"That's a difficult one," said Mo Bey, pondering the new FBI guidelines before heading into the Islamic Center of Washington for prayers. "I don't think that citizens should be violated because of their religious affiliations. But Americans need to be attentive to terrorist movements."

Librarians, Internet surfers and other people expressed feelings of disquiet about someone monitoring them — even if their activity is right out in public.

"There could be agents in the library looking at what people are reading, looking over someone's shoulder while they're on the Internet," said Emily Sheketoff of the American Library Association. "What I'm afraid of as an American

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Russ Siler, an official of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, said the government already has plenty of tools to fight terrorism. "We need to be very, very careful when, in the name of protecting our liberties and freedoms, we begin to take those liberties a little too much for granted," he said.

— Associated Press

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May 31, 2002, Friday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 734 words

HEADLINE: New FBI leeway leaves some uneasy; others say there is nothing to fear

BYLINE: By NANCY BENAC, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

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May 30, 2002 Thursday

SECTION: WASHINGTON DATELINE

LENGTH: 730 words

HEADLINE: New FBI Power Leaves Some Uneasy

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DATELINE: WASHINGTON

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May 30, 2002 Thursday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

DISTRIBUTION: Europe; Britian; Scandinavia; Middle East; Africa; India; Asia; England

LENGTH: 588 words

HEADLINE: New FBI leeway leaves some Americans uneasy; others say there is nothing to fear

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(c) 2002 THE DAILY STAR, BEIRUT, LEBANON.
Daily Star

March 26, 2002 Tuesday

LENGTH: 774 words

HEADLINE: Opinion – Moderate Muslims – the new target?

BODY:

On March 21, over 150 federal agents raided the offices of several prominent Muslim organizations and the homes of some of the most respected members of the American Muslim community in northern Virginia.

For over 20 years, the Muslim leadership associated with the International Institute of Islamic Thought (<http://www.iiit.org>), one of the targets of the raid, has been at the forefront of many progressive, moderate, intellectual and liberal initiatives taken by American Muslims.

The raids, according to authorities, are investigating alleged links between IIIT and terrorist organizations.

No one has been arrested and charges have not yet been made. The terrorism task force is hoping it will find some evidence in the material, computers and files, it has confiscated from the offices of the IIIT.

The group is a research institute that has invested two decades and millions of dollars in search of "the Islamic epistemology" – a magic wand that when discovered would instantly restore the lost glory of the Islamic civilization.

Needless to say it is still looking. I think the task of reading through all the material that IIIT produces, every third word of which is epistemology and every second word is maarifa (knowledge).

The raids on IIIT and the Graduate School of Islamic Social Sciences (GSISS, pronounced like Jesus) are an attack on the most moderate of American Muslims. These raids have sent a shiver down the spine of the American Muslim community. If people like **Taha Alwani** are also targets in the so-called war on terrorism, then this war is indeed a war against Muslims and not terrorists.

Alwani, the president of GSISS (<http://www.siss.edu>), is a leading liberal Muslim thinker who advocated that American Muslims adopt the festival of Thanksgiving as an Islamic festival, since Islam is all about giving thanks.

The IIIT community has played an important role in promoting education and liberalism amongst Muslims. They have advocated Muslim participation in the American mainstream by supporting the creation of institutions such as the American Muslim Council.

In the last few months, US President George W. Bush and his administration have systematically disengaged from the American Muslim community.

In the immediate aftermath of Sept. 11, Bush was indeed heroic in making several statements and making appearances with Muslim leaders to protect the civil rights, properties, businesses and places of worship belonging to American Muslims.

Muslims recognize that if he had not been so supportive, the backlash against the community would have been very severe. But that was in 2001. Since the beginning of this year, the White House has become completely inaccessible to Muslims.

The administration has discontinued almost all kinds of previous contacts with mainstream Muslim organizations. Even Islamic public relations contacts in the White House that were routine in the past, are now on hold.

Even the American Muslim organizations that endorsed the candidacy of Bush and campaigned for him in 2000 now

Opinion - Moderate Muslims - the new target? Daily Star March 26, 2002 T

have no access to their president.

The combination of estrangement from our president and the continued raids by the authorities on Muslim organizations and charities has slowly induced a feeling of fear, uncertainty, and melancholia in the community that is beginning to feel as if it is under siege by its own government.

The war against Al-Qaeda operatives still hiding in the mountains of Afghanistan is not going so well. Both Osama bin Laden and top Taleban officials are nowhere to be found.

While the authorities continue to detain over a 1,000 people at home, there has been no major breakthrough against the so-called network of terrorists hiding inside the United States.

The anthrax sender is still at large. On the international front nobody, neither the so-called pro-Western Arab regimes nor Western allies in Europe, are willing to support a US attack against Iraq.

Washington is spending billions and after the laudable liberation of Afghanistan, has little to show for its efforts. Muslim leaders feel that this raid against moderate Muslims may well be a desperate attempt by the authorities to find something that it can use to claim as another victory in its war on terror.

One of the most debilitating effects of raids on moderate Muslim institutions is the power it gives to those conservative Muslims who are critical of the US and see the war on terror as essentially a global war on Islam.

These raids weaken the position of moderate Muslims who are inviting the global Muslim community to do its best to undermine extremism and intolerance within the Muslim world.

Muqtedar Khan

Adrian, Michigan, USA.

NOTES:

PUBLISHER: Daily Star

LOAD-DATE: January 28, 2005

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National Post (Canada)

March 21, 2002 Thursday Toronto / Late Edition

SECTION: News; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 1226 words

HEADLINE: Quebec group tied to al-Qaeda money web: Virginia office raided

SOURCE: National Post

BYLINE: Stewart Bell

BODY:

The directors of a Canadian aid group are being investigated by U.S. authorities probing a web of Muslim charities suspected of laundering money to al-Qaeda and Palestinian terrorists, the National Post has learned.

Four men who operated the SAAR Foundation Canada in Sherbrooke, Que., have been identified as subjects of a massive investigation into suspected violations of U.S. anti-terrorism and money-laundering laws.

The executives of the Canadian foundation operate a group of intertwined charities and companies with suspected ties to Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network as well as the Palestinian terror groups Islamic Jihad and Hamas.

The investigation appears to be the first major probe since Sept. 11 alleging a possible Canadian link to the complex financial web of charities that secretly feed bin Laden's global terrorist operation.

Investigators raided 14 businesses and homes in northern Virginia, including SAAR's head office, and one in Georgia yesterday, the U.S. Customs Service said. The raids were co-ordinated by the counterterrorism financial task force, known as Operation Green Quest, set up after the Sept. 11 attacks.

About 150 federal agents took part, including members of the FBI, U.S. Customs, Immigration and Naturalization Service and Internal Revenue Service.

"Agents and officers conducted the searches without incident and are processing the evidence from the targeted locations," a Customs official said.

No arrests were made and no criminal charges have been filed.

A man who answered the phone at the SAAR Foundation's Sherbrooke office said the organization had dissolved last year and the person who ran it, Nabil Zeki, had moved to the United States after a decade in Canada.

The SAAR Foundation was formed in 1984 and opened a Canadian branch office the following year. It describes its mission as the promotion of religious, educational and scientific research. Its last reported assets totalled US\$35-million.

It has been accused of moving money to Islamic terrorists from wealthy Arabs, particularly in Saudi Arabia, who support fundamentalist causes but are unable to make direct contributions due to scrutiny by local authorities.

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Corporate records show these U.S. organizations were intimately tied to SAAR Canada through common directors and money transfers.

The FBI has been investigating the SAAR network since at least 1999, following allegations it was knowingly passing money to two Florida cells closely tied to Islamic Jihad. (Yesterday, Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility for a bus

Quebec group tied to al-Qaeda money web: Virginia office raided National

bombing that killed seven Israelis and injured another 27.)

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In his recent book *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us*, terrorism expert Steven Emerson calls SAAR "a billion-dollar Saudi conglomerate" and claims SAAR also funded ICP and WISE.

Also yesterday, a Florida lawyer and former U.S. government prosecutor filed a civil lawsuit against Sami al-Arian, the head of WISE and ICP. The suit also alleges Mr. al-Arian's front groups got their money from the Virginia charities at 555 Grove St.

Income tax records also show a charity closely related to SAAR, the SAFA Trust, moved money to the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, a Texas charity that was shut down by U.S. regulators last year after officials said it was a fundraising front for Hamas.

Incorporation records show that SAAR's Canadian office is located at 101 rue Frontenac, Sherbrooke. Quebec non-profit records say the group had between one and five employees in the province. Its executives are listed as:

- **Taha Al Alwani**, administrator, an Iraqi educated in Cairo who taught in Saudi Arabia. He is a founder of both the council of the Muslim World League and the International Institute of Islamic Thought.

- Hisham Altalib, president, is the treasurer of the SAFA Trust and a director of the International Institute of Islamic Thought, a think-tank dedicated to the "Islamization of knowledge" and "revival and reform of Islamic thought." He is the author of the Training Guide for Islamic Workers.

- Yaqub Mirza, secretary-treasurer, is a Pakistani physicist educated at the University of Karachi and the University of Texas at Dallas who is a proponent of what he calls "Islamic investing." He has been active in all the organizations under investigation. He is president of the SAAR Foundation.

Mr. Zeki is a Sherbrooke civil engineer educated at the University of Ohio and University of Michigan. SAAR Canada operated out of Mr. Zeki's Quebec business, Marche des Grandes Fourches, which owned a Sherbrooke shopping mall. He is a vice-president of Mr. Mirza's company, Sterling Management Group.

The SAAR Foundation appears to have dissolved its U.S. operations in December, 2000, but SAAR Canada continues to have an active telephone listing in Quebec. The man who answered the telephone at first confirmed a reporter had reached the offices of SAAR Canada, but when told of the allegations of terror financing, he said the group was no longer a functioning charity.

"All I know is that this foundation was dissolved several months ago because they outlived their utility," said the man, who declined to give his name or say how he was connected to the foundation. "In Canada, they had a shopping centre, which was sold.

"I don't think they'll find anything," he said of the investigators.

A former secretary of the SAAR Foundation said from Saudi Arabia that he was not aware of any wrongdoing while he was involved with the organizations. Others involved in the charities could not be reached.

The Virginia office building that houses the organizations under investigation is also home to the Muslim World League, an international group funded by the Saudi government. Mr. Mirza is the league's secretary-treasurer.

One branch of the Muslim league, the Rabita Trust in Pakistan, was banned by the United Nations, the United States, Canada and other countries last year for suspected financial ties to al-Qaeda and bin Laden. The Muslim World League also has an office in Toronto.

The league operates a humanitarian wing called the International Islamic Relief Organization that has long been suspected of having links to Islamic extremists, particularly the bin Laden network.

The Washington, D.C., offices of the IIRO were also raided yesterday. The IIRO has an office in Toronto. Canadian government documents, filed in court in Toronto to support the deportation of a suspected Egyptian terrorist, allege the

Quebec group tied to al-Qaeda money web: Virginia office raided National

organization "secretly funds terrorism" by funnelling money to the Egyptian Al Jihad.

LOAD-DATE: March 21, 2002

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National Post (Canada)

March 21, 2002 Thursday All but Toronto/Late Edition

SECTION: News; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 1335 words

HEADLINE: Quebec group tied to al-Qaeda money web: Virginia office raided: Aid agency accused of funnelling Saudis' riches to terrorists

SOURCE: National Post

BYLINE: Stewart Bell

BODY:

The directors of a Canadian aid group are being investigated by U.S. authorities probing a web of Muslim charities suspected of laundering money to al-Qaeda and Palestinian terrorists, the National Post has learned.

Four men who operated the SAAR Foundation Canada in Sherbrooke, Que., have been identified as subjects of a massive investigation into suspected violations of U.S. anti-terrorism and money-laundering laws.

The executives of the Canadian foundation operate a group of intertwined charities and companies with suspected ties to Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network as well as the Palestinian terror groups Islamic Jihad and Hamas.

The investigation appears to be the first major probe since Sept. 11 alleging a possible Canadian link to the complex financial web of charities that secretly feed bin Laden's global terrorist operation.

Investigators raided 14 businesses and homes in northern Virginia, including SAAR's head office, and one in Georgia yesterday, the U.S. Customs Service said. The raids were co-ordinated by the counterterrorism financial task force, known as Operation Green Quest, set up after the Sept. 11 attacks.

About 150 federal agents took part, including members of the FBI, U.S. Customs, Immigration and Naturalization Service and Internal Revenue Service.

"Agents and officers conducted the searches without incident and are processing the evidence from the targeted locations," a Customs official said.

No arrests were made and no criminal charges have been filed.

A man who answered the phone at the SAAR Foundation's Sherbrooke office said the organization had dissolved last year and the person who ran it, Nabil Zeki, had moved to the United States after a decade in Canada.

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Corporate records show these U.S. organizations were intimately tied to SAAR Canada through common directors and money transfers. It was not known whether Canadian police were investigating the Quebec wing of the group.

The FBI has been investigating the SAAR network since at least 1999, following allegations it was knowingly passing

Quebec group tied to al-Qaeda money web: Virginia office raided: Aid age

money to two Florida cells closely tied to Islamic Jihad. (Yesterday, Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility for a bus bombing that killed seven Israelis and injured another 27.)

Tax returns show the Virginia organizations raided yesterday moved money to other front groups accused of supporting Islamic terrorism. For example, SAAR was the major financier of the International Institute of Islamic Thought, which in turn financed the World and Islamic Studies Enterprise (WISE) and Islamic Committee for Palestine (ICP), Florida groups shut down by the United States for fundraising for Islamic Jihad.

In his recent book *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us*, terrorism expert Steven Emerson calls SAAR "a billion-dollar Saudi conglomerate" and claims SAAR also funded ICP and WISE. Mr. Emerson and his research group, the Investigative Project, were the first to publicly make the connection between the Virginia groups and terror financing.

Also yesterday, a Florida lawyer and former U.S. government prosecutor filed a civil lawsuit against Sami al-Arian, the head of WISE and ICP. The suit also alleges Mr. al-Arian's front groups got their money from the Virginia charities at 555 Grove St.

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"I don't think they'll find anything," he said of the investigators. "What I know of them is they were purely business... They were philosophers and professors and businessmen."

A former secretary of the SAAR Foundation said from Saudi Arabia that he was not aware of any wrongdoing while he was involved with the organizations. Others involved in the charities could not be reached.

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LOAD-DATE: March 21, 2002

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Copyright 2002 The Washington Post
The Washington PostMarch 21, 2002 Thursday
Final Edition**SECTION:** METRO; Pg. B01**LENGTH:** 749 words**HEADLINE:** N.Va. Sites Raided in Probe of Terrorism;
Federal Agencies Seek Information on Funds**BYLINE:** Tom Jackman, Washington Post Staff Writer**BODY:**

Federal agents yesterday raided 14 sites across Northern Virginia, many with links to the Middle East, seizing boxes of documents in an ongoing investigation of the funding of terrorist groups.

No arrests were made, and none of the businesses was closed down.

Government sources said the investigation is looking at charities and other organizations that may have contributed money to international groups that sponsor terrorist activities.

Federal officials said the search warrants in Virginia and one in Georgia were issued as part of Operation Green Quest, being conducted by a counterterrorism financial task force created by the Treasury Department in October. Affidavits giving the reasons for the searches were sealed and were not provided to those who were searched.

Agents from the U.S. Customs Service, which heads Operation Green Quest, and officers from nine other federal agencies and from police departments swooped into locations in Herndon, Falls Church and Leesburg and other sites in Fairfax County about 10:30 a.m. Federal and local officials would not disclose exact locations for any of the searches.

But Customs agents were busy loading up boxes throughout the afternoon at two offices in Herndon: at the International Institute for Islamic Thought and at MarJac Investments, both on Grove Street. Shortly before 4 p.m., the investigators drove a large U-Haul truck into a parking lot near both.

Ahmed Totonji, a vice president at the institute, said he was surprised by the federal interest in his firm, a nonprofit Islamic think tank that has been in Herndon since 1981. He said no one had told him why it was being searched.

"We have no knowledge of this kind of thing going on," Totonji said, "and we will cooperate 100 percent."

The institute has branches in 12 countries in addition to its Herndon headquarters and describes itself as "an intellectual forum working from an Islamic perspective to promote and support research projects, organize intellectual and cultural meetings and publish scholarly works."

But the institute also has been linked to controversial groups in the Middle East. It has made large financial contributions to the World Islamic Studies Enterprise in Tampa. In November, the Justice Department called the Tampa group a "front organization that raised funds for militant Islamic-Palestinian groups such as the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and Hamas. The PIJ, designated by the Secretary of State as a terrorist organization, has claimed responsibility for several acts of terrorism."

Until the mid-1990s, the World Islamic Studies Enterprise was an academic institute affiliated with the University of South Florida. Federal agents searched its office in 1995 and eventually froze its assets.

Tax records show that the Herndon institute made contributions to the group until at least 1994.

Steven Emerson, a journalist and author of the best-selling "American Jihad," said yesterday's raids were part of a

N.Va. Sites Raided in Probe of Terrorism; Federal Agencies Seek Informat

money-laundering investigation launched by the federal government since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

"It is part of the ongoing problem of nonprofit humanitarian groups commingling their funds with support for terrorist groups," he said.

Federal agents yesterday also raided the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences on Miller Drive in Leesburg. **Taha Al-alwani**, president of the school, said authorities arrived at 10:30 a.m., confined employees to the lobby and began searching computers and financial records. They said little except that they were there to examine the school's finances.

Each employee was interviewed separately about his job, and when staff members asked to use the restroom, they were escorted by armed agents. The school, which opened in 1996, was the first in the country approved by the Pentagon to train Muslim chaplains. Nine of the military's 13 Muslim chaplains have studied there.

"I'm very upset, because after all our loyalty and service to our country, here we see ourselves in this position," Al-alwani said.

Agents also seized documents at MarJac Investments Inc., in Herndon, a consulting firm that has offices in Egypt, Turkey, Malaysia, Canada and Chile.

Operation Green Quest was created to identify and shut down the sources of terrorist funding by using the Treasury Department to freeze accounts, seize assets and prosecute those assisting terrorists.

Staff writers Maria Glod, Rosalind S. Helderman, John Mintz and Valerie Strauss contributed to this report.

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The Washington Daybook

February 6, 2002

ORGANIZATION: Al-Hewar Center - presents a conversation on "Arabism, Islam and the West."

TIME: 8 p.m.

LOCATION: Al-Hewar Center, 124 Park Street SE, Level B, Vienna, VA

CONTACT: 703-281-6277, alhewar@alhewar.com, or <http://www.alhewar.com>

PARTICIPANTS: Clovis Maksoud, president, Center for the Global South, American University, and **Taha** Jaber Al-**Alwani**, president, Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, University of Virginia

TYPE: Discussion

PERSON: CLOVIS MAKSOUD (80%); **TAHA** JABER AL-**ALWANI** (80%);

LN-ORG: GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ISLAMIC&SOCIAL SCIENCES (80%); UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA (80%); CENTER FOR THE GLOBAL SOUTH (80%);

COMPANY: GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ISLAMIC&SOCIAL SCIENCES (80%); UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA (80%); CENTER FOR THE GLOBAL SOUTH (80%); AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ECONOMICS (80%);

SUBJECT: Foreign Affairs;

LOAD-DATE: January 30, 2002

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The Associated Press State & Local Wire

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December 15, 2001, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: State and Regional

LENGTH: 1234 words

HEADLINE: America's newly visible Muslims try to find their place in the nation and in their worldwide faith

BYLINE: By RICHARD N. OSTLING, AP Religion Writer

BODY:

For Muslims, it's supposed to be a wonderful time of the year.

The Eid al-Fitr, or "Feast of the End of Fasting," marks the conclusion of the self-denying month of Ramadan, which began Nov. 16. It's one of Islam's two major holidays – roughly equivalent in importance to Christmas or Easter – a moment when believers gather for community prayers, visit loved ones, make special dinners and exchange gifts.

But in America of 2001, Muslims' traditional upbeat mood has been dampened in the atmosphere of anxiety brought on by the Sept. 11 attacks and subsequent war on terrorism.

"They are saddened and they feel depressed," said director Abdul Hameed Dogar of the Islamic Foundation in Villa Park, Ill., when asked about the mood in his flock of more than 6,000 believers.

"The leadership is in disarray," observed Akbar Ahmed of American University in Washington. "The community is confused."

Indeed, it's been a wrenching season for American Muslims.

Beyond their simple anger at the Sept. 11 attacks, and grief for the lives lost in Afghanistan and Palestine, the war on terrorism has drawn much more attention to deeper, divisive questions for U.S. Muslims, like whether Islam is compatible with democracy and how American Muslims should participate in the nation's political life.

Hanging over the whole picture is Muslims' sense that they are under suspicion from the government, media and even Christian leaders.

The Rev. Franklin Graham, for instance, remarked in an interview with NBC News last month that Islam "is a very evil and wicked religion."

In a column for The Wall Street Journal last week, Graham tried to clarify his views, writing that he does not believe Muslims "are evil people because of their faith. But I decry the evil that has been done in the name of Islam, or any other faith – including Christianity."

Muslims also feel the government's anti-terror tactics, such as the initial roundup of aliens from Muslim nations and current interviews with hundreds of foreign men, are "based on a presumption of collective guilt," says Mohamed Nimer, research director at the Council on American-Islamic Relations.

Aminah McCloud, of DePaul University in Chicago, charges that "we're becoming a police state, like those nations we claim to abhor."

America's newly visible Muslims try to find their place in the nati

Complicating matters further, U.S. Muslims have been outspoken against the Sept. 11 attacks, but are at odds with many fellow citizens over foreign policy, especially the Palestine-Israel conflict.

The United States gives Israel "uncritical and unlimited support," said a typical complaint last February, sent to President Bush by the American Muslim Council and Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy.

The groups' letter also raised another issue, that in the Mideast the United States protects "some of the least democratic countries in the world."

"The Muslim peoples are increasingly alienated from their own governments, many of which are highly ineffective, corrupt and authoritarian," the letter said.

As those words indicate, American believers are enmeshed in what Georgetown University's John Esposito sees as a complex worldwide "struggle for the soul of Islam."

Esposito thinks the weakening authority of traditional religious scholars has created a vacuum that is being filled by Muslim rulers and Islamic political activists, with both groups employing religion to their own ends. Osama bin Laden and the Taliban represent the extreme.

"Bin Laden hijacks Islam, and at times regimes hijack Islam, using the religious establishment to legitimate their own forms of authoritarian rule," says Esposito, who directs the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding.

But American Muslims seem anxious to distance themselves from extremism. An upcoming Muslim Public Affairs Council symposium in Los Angeles, for example, is titled "Rising Moderate Voices of American Muslims: Silent Majority No More."

U.S. Muslim intellectuals, meanwhile, are joining in the related debate over whether Islam can be compatible with democracy and religious pluralism at all – a hot topic amid complaints about persecution of Christian minorities living in Muslim areas.

Even some Muslims acknowledge that religious thinkers have yet to agree on any convincing case from Islamic teaching for embracing democracy.

But Muqtadar Khan of Adrian College, in Michigan, believes American Muslims can have a strong influence in the effort to spread democracy, because they have far more freedom to speak than intellectuals in most Islamic lands.

He calls this "a watershed moment, not only for America but for Muslims everywhere."

Ahmed is doubtful. "I don't really think American Muslims have much impact outside a westernized, English-speaking elite in the Muslim world," he said during a panel discussion on a new Carnegie Corporation report, "Muslims in America."

Adding to the improbability, U.S. Muslims number only several million amid 1.2 billion believers. By contrast, the United States has the world's biggest Protestant and Jewish populations and the third largest Roman Catholic contingent. American influence, funding and personnel are pervasive in those faiths.

Ingrid Mattson, a convert to Islam teaching at Hartford (Conn.) Seminary, also thinks Islamic tradition provides little guidance for the situation facing modern-day Muslims in America.

It was only last year that a fatwa, or religious ruling, commissioned by the American Muslim Council, rebutted traditionalists' contention that participating in western democracies involves forbidden secularism – and complicity with non-Muslims.

In his ruling, **Taha** Jaber al-**Alwani**, chairman of the Fiqh Council of North America (fiqh is Islamic jurisprudence), said those in Muslim nations must uphold Islamic law, but that doesn't apply in the West where Muslims are a minority group.

Another issue taking on new importance post-Sept. 11 is how to build a united Islamic community in America from such a wide variety of nationalities.

Mahmoud M. Ayoub of Temple University observes that some Islamic nations have tried to put their own stamp on the faith. Saudi Arabia has sought to impose "a conservative, exclusive Islam that does not tolerate Shias and others," he says. (Shias form the smaller of Islam's two main branches, alongside the Sunnis.)

America's newly visible Muslims try to find their place in the nati

"That won't work in America. I am looking to the American community to find its own American feet."

Also, black American Muslims – estimated at 30 percent of mosque participants – feel overshadowed by the better-funded immigrant majority, McCloud says.

Nimer says U.S. Muslims have only begun to establish organizations and effectively deal with American society.

But he predicts this period of turmoil will end with Muslims becoming more organized and vocal. "A lot of people are realizing that if we remain isolated and invisible, we all lose," he said.

Whatever their travails, participants in this year's eid celebration can take a philosophical view because of their belief in a future paradise, says Villa Park's Dogar.

"This life is not the only life," he explains. "This a temporary life, and our difficulties are also of a temporary nature."

On the Net:

Muslim sites debating democracy:

<http://www.ijtihad.org>, <http://www.islam-democracy.org>, <http://www.minaret.org>

Fatwa on U.S. politics: <http://www.amconline.org/newamc/imam/fatwa.shtml>

GRAPHIC: AP Photos NY337-339

LOAD-DATE: December 16, 2001

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December 15, 2001, Saturday, BC cycle

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LENGTH: 1237 words

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Whatever their travails, participants in this year's eid celebration can take a philosophical view because of their belief in a future paradise, says Villa Park's Dogar.

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GRAPHIC: AP Photos NY337-339

LOAD-DATE: December 16, 2001

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The Associated Press State & Local Wire

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December 11, 2001, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: State and Regional

LENGTH: 1241 words

HEADLINE: America's newly visible Muslims try to find their place in the nation and in their worldwide faith

BYLINE: By RICHARD N. OSTLING, AP Religion Writer

BODY:

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"They are saddened and they feel depressed," said director Abdul Hameed Dogar of the Islamic Foundation in Villa Park, Ill., when asked about the mood in his flock of more than 6,000 believers.

"The leadership is in disarray," observed Akbar Ahmed of American University in Washington. "The community is confused."

Indeed, it's been a wrenching season for American Muslims.

Beyond their simple anger at the Sept. 11 attacks, and grief for the lives lost in Afghanistan and Palestine, the war on terrorism has drawn much more attention to deeper, divisive questions for U.S. Muslims, like whether Islam is compatible with democracy and how American Muslims should participate in the nation's political life.

Hanging over the whole picture is Muslims' sense that they are under suspicion from the government, media and even Christian leaders.

The Rev. Franklin Graham, for instance, remarked in an interview with NBC News last month that Islam "is a very evil and wicked religion."

In a column for The Wall Street Journal last week, Graham tried to clarify his views, writing that he does not believe Muslims "are evil people because of their faith. But I decry the evil that has been done in the name of Islam, or any other faith – including Christianity."

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End Adv, Sunday, Dec. 16

GRAPHIC: AP Photos NY337-339

LOAD-DATE: January 2, 2002

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December 11, 2001 Tuesday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

DISTRIBUTION: Europe; Britian; Scandinavia; Middle East; Africa; India; Asia; England

LENGTH: 1240 words

HEADLINE: America's newly visible Muslims try to find their place in the nation and in their worldwide faith

BYLINE: RICHARD N. OSTLING; AP Religion Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

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December 10, 2001, Monday, BC cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 1242 words

HEADLINE: America's newly visible Muslims try to find their place in the nation and in their worldwide faith

BYLINE: By RICHARD N. OSTLING, AP Religion Writer

BODY:

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End Adv, Sunday, Dec. 16

GRAPHIC: AP Photos NY337-339

LOAD-DATE: January 2, 2002

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Copyright 2001 Lakeland Ledger Publishing Corporation
Ledger (Lakeland, Florida)November 21, 2001, Wednesday**SECTION:** News; Pg. A8**LENGTH:** 649 words**HEADLINE:** MUSLIMS TAKE HARD LINE THIS HOLIDAY**BYLINE:** JAMES BANDLER The Wall Street Journal**BODY:**

HOUSTON — A few years ago, before his 30 relatives began diving into their Thanksgiving turkey, Irtiza Hasan delivered a short speech. The college student accused his kin of straying from their Islamic heritage by celebrating a holiday that he believes isn't sanctioned by the teachings or writings of the Prophet Muhammed.

"You're spoiling a fun day," he remembers one of his cousins exclaiming.

"You should have stayed home," another cousin said.

So this year, he will. As will many other Muslim-Americans who have decided that when it comes to Thanksgiving, it is wiser to abstain than to partake. Taking their cue from conservative religious leaders who say it is a sin to imitate the kuffaar, or nonbeliever, many Muslims quietly opt out, treating the third Thursday in November as an ordinary day.

"We don't mean to 'dis' Thanksgiving," says Umar Chaudhry, a 15-year-old student at Al-Noor Academy, a Muslim private school in Quincy, Mass. "But as my mom tells me, we Muslims already say thanks every day."

Before Sept. 11, the Thanksgiving question was largely an internal religious debate carried out among conservative and secularized American Muslims. This year, in the wake of the World Trade Center and Pentagon terrorist attacks and the arrest and detention of large numbers of Muslims that followed, it has become politically charged. Some Muslims like Hasan feel they are being held, even by their own kin, to a kind of patriotic litmus test.

"The feeling is that if we don't celebrate, we will be considered extremists like the Taliban," says the 22-year-old Hasan.

Thanksgiving has been problematic for other minority groups over the years. Some Native Americans see the holiday as a reminder of oppression and use it as a day of protest. The Pilgrims found a haven from persecution in America, but what befell Africans in the New World was a bitter irony for Black Muslim leader Malcolm X. "We didn't land on Plymouth Rock — that rock landed on us," he said.

Still, like other immigrants who have come here in search of the American dream, many first-and second-generation United States Muslims enthusiastically observe some version of Thanksgiving, often adding an ethnic tinge, such as Bengali rice or nan bread. In the Hasan family, the turkey often has a Pakistani kick, flavored with cumin and other spices. Some Muslims even note parallels between Muhammed's exile from Mecca and the Pilgrims' flight from Europe.

This year, in response to Sept. 11, an Islamic center in Sharon, Mass., hosted its first-ever dual Thanksgiving/Ramadan dinner, with 10 tickets given to each of the area churches. "To those who say no to Thanksgiving, who say it's not Islamic, I say it's not a religious event, it's an American event," says Talal Eid, the imam who helped organize the feast.

But a vocal minority of devout Muslims say they are bound to follow Muhammed's teaching that Islam has only two holidays. The choice becomes more stark this year because one of those holidays, Ramadan, coincides with Thanksgiving. Since Ramadan requires fasting and Thanksgiving features a big meal, it's hard to celebrate both.

"Ramadan is not a feeding frenzy," says Sherman Jackson, a professor of Islamic studies and Arabic at the University

MUSLIMS TAKE HARD LINE THIS HOLIDAY Ledger (Lakeland, Florida) November

of Michigan in Ann Arbor, who's mulling whether to break his fast at sundown with a turkey.

Jackson belongs to the Fiqh Council of North America, a Muslim scholarly body devoted to interpreting Islamic law in the light of American realities. About a decade ago, the council put out a position paper that states that observing Thanksgiving, because it is a secular holiday, is permissible.

Indeed, Taha Jabir Al-Alwani, the Fiqh Council's chairman, encourages Muslims to celebrate Thanksgiving. "It is a time when we can get together as the three Abrahamic faiths: Jews, Christians and Muslims," Al-Alwani says.

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The Wall Street Journal

November 20, 2001 Tuesday
Correction Appended

SECTION: Pg. A1

LENGTH: 1199 words

HEADLINE: A Hard Line on Turkey (The Bird, That Is) Is Harder After Sept. 11 — American Muslims, Long Split Over Thanksgiving, Find Debate Has a New Gravity

BYLINE: By James Bandler, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

BODY:

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"The feeling is that if we don't celebrate, we will be considered extremists like the Taliban," says the 22-year-old Mr. Hasan.

Some think Mr. Hasan is overreacting — his cousin, for one. "We live in America," says Faisal Hasan, 20, a jewelry consultant in Austin, Texas. "So, if the rest of America is eating turkey, well, when in Rome."

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Still, like other immigrants who have come here in search of the American dream, many first- and second-generation U.S. Muslims enthusiastically observe some version of Thanksgiving, often adding an ethnic tinge, such as Bengali rice or nan bread. In the Hasan family, the turkey often has a Pakistani kick, flavored with cumin and other spices. Some Muslims even note parallels between Muhammed's exile from Mecca and the Pilgrims' flight from Europe.

This year, in response to Sept. 11, an Islamic center in Sharon, Mass., hosted its first-ever dual Thanksgiving/Ramadan

dinner, with 10 tickets given to each of the area churches. "To those who say no to Thanksgiving, who say it's not Islamic, I say it's not a religious event, it's an American event," says Talal Eid, the imam who helped organize the feast.

But a vocal minority of devout Muslims say they are bound to follow Muhammed's teaching that Islam has only two holidays. The choice becomes more stark this year because one of those holidays, Ramadan, coincides with Thanksgiving. Since Ramadan requires fasting and Thanksgiving features a big meal, it's hard to celebrate both.

"Ramadan is not a feeding frenzy," says Sherman Jackson, a professor of Islamic studies and Arabic at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, who's mulling whether to break his fast at sundown with a turkey.

Mr. Jackson belongs to the Fiqh Council of North America, a Muslim scholarly body devoted to interpreting Islamic law in the light of American realities. About a decade ago, the council put out a position paper that states that observing Thanksgiving, because it is a secular holiday, is permissible.

Indeed, **Taha Jabir Al-Alwani**, the Fiqh Council's chairman, encourages Muslims to celebrate Thanksgiving. "It is a time when we can get together as the three Abrahamic faiths: Jews, Christians and Muslims," says Mr. Al-Alwani.

But other Muslim leaders disagree. Yahiya Emerick, vice principal of an Islamic school in New York, has produced an audio CD for Muslims advising them that it's not permissible to engage in Thanksgiving — particularly because the holiday was initiated by Christians.

Mr. Emerick, a convert to Islam, says he observed his last Thanksgiving eight years ago. His extended family often gathers for lunch on Friday, the day after the holiday, "just to make the point that we don't necessarily celebrate the actual day."

Other Muslim leaders take an even harder line. The Qu'ran and Sunnah Society in Detroit, a national organization that hosts a large educational convention, distributes literature that advises Muslims to "refrain from such expressions as "happy Thanksgiving, happy birthday and happy New Year."

The opponents take their guidance mostly from clerics in Saudi Arabia. The issue became a sensitive one during the Gulf War, when the first President Bush visited the troops in Saudi Arabia in late November and hosted Thanksgiving aboard a naval vessel. One reason: a Thanksgiving service on Saudi soil would have been viewed by religious leaders as a desecration.

Some people try to get around the problem with a compromise, saying they're not really "celebrating" Thanksgiving, just getting together with friends and family to enjoy some turkey. But in other families, arguments persist. Tehmina Mohammad of Houston says her mother likes to prepare Thanksgiving turkey, but says her husband refuses to partake. "He says that's 'imitating' non-Muslims. I tell him no, it's not."

Mr. Hasan seems, at first, an unlikely person to stage a Thanksgiving boycott. The son of a civil engineer who came to America from Pakistan in 1980, he describes himself as an "average American kid." Like a lot of other Texans, he wears cowboy boots, loves steak and bird-hunting, and was a loyal Houston Oilers fan — until the team moved to Tennessee.

After spending several years in a school in Pakistan and then joining the Muslim student group at his college, Mr. Hasan's faith deepened. He grew a beard, began praying five times a day and drank water only with his right hand, as was the practice of Muhammed. Repeatedly, he advised his mothers and sisters to cover themselves with a veil. And he began questioning Thanksgiving, a holiday he'd once loved.

One year, he refused to get in the car to go to his uncle's house. But eventually, he changed his mind, arriving late, unkempt and scowling. That wasn't the right approach, he decided. So this year, with Thanksgiving falling on Ramadan, he plans to avoid the holiday entirely, fasting from dawn until sundown and then spending the evening at the mosque.

"My family thinks I'm stubborn, childish and clinging to a Third World past," says Mr. Hasan, who works nights as a computer network administrator. "They think I'm obsolete — like Windows 98."

His relatives say that while they respect his faith, they believe he is misguided. Says Irtiza's father, Mudassar Hasan, 48, of Houston: "He will realize at a later stage that he was on the wrong path, that he isolated himself for no reason."

NOTES:

PUBLISHER: Dow Jones & Company

A Hard Line on Turkey (The Bird, That Is) Is Harder After Sept. 11 — A

CORRECTION:

Corrections & Amplifications

THANKSGIVING is celebrated on the fourth Thursday of November, not the third, as incorrectly reported in a page-one article yesterday about Muslim views of the holiday. (WSJ Nov. 21, 2001)

LOAD-DATE: December 5, 2004

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Copyright 2001 The Weekly Standard
The Weekly StandardNovember 12, 2001**SECTION:** ARTICLES; Vol. 7, No. 9; Pg. 20**LENGTH:** 814 words**HEADLINE:** In Search of a Moderate Sheikh;
A pro-American Muslim cleric is hard to find**BYLINE:** BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ;
Stephen Schwartz is working on a book to be titled The Two Faces of Islam.**BODY:**

ON SEPTEMBER 27, a group of Islamic scholars in the Middle East issued a fatwa on the duties of Muslims serving in the U.S. armed forces. The story of this fatwa — a religious pronouncement with legal force among Muslims — illustrates both the confused state of relations between American society and Islam and the nature of Muslim fundamentalism.

It all began when the first-ever Muslim chaplain to American military personnel, U.S. Army Captain Abdul-Rashid Muhammad, sought an authoritative opinion as to whether Muslims could serve in a war against a Muslim enemy. Captain Muhammad turned to the head of the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg, Virginia, one **Taha Jabir Alwani**. As if that weren't unusual enough, Alwani conveyed the request to a "moderate" cleric of the Wahhabi sect living in Qatar and subsidized by Saudi Arabia named Yusuf al-Qaradawi, who drafted the resulting document.

The content of the fatwa was inoffensive. Sheikh Qaradawi and his cosignatories (three Egyptians, a Syrian, and Alwani) held that, in the face of the recent attacks, American Muslims were obliged to support the United States, since Islamic law prohibits "terrorizing the innocent, killing noncombatants, and the destruction of property." Further, the fatwa declared that American Muslims must fulfill the duties of citizenship, including conscientious service in the armed forces, lest their loyalty be doubted.

Some American media seized on the fatwa to prove that Muslims abhor terrorism. Sam Jaffe, for instance, writing in *Business Week Online*, characterized Qaradawi as one of those "Islamic thinkers . . . that will defeat bin Laden." But the honeymoon was brief. Sheikh Qaradawi has a record of public statements inciting terrorism; just last April, he defined suicide bombings as "martyrdom, not suicide," suicide being forbidden by Islam. The September 27 fatwa set off a firestorm in the Arab world, and Qaradawi changed course.

On October 11, the sheikh held a press conference in Qatar where he condemned American military action against Afghanistan. His wording was anything but mild: "We support the Afghans who stand firm against the American invasion," he proclaimed, likening the U.S. campaign to the Russian occupation. He blamed the United States for September 11 because of American support for Israel and threatened that a thousand bin Ladens will rise up unless U.S. policy changes. He incited the Pakistanis against their government and concluded with the claim that bin Laden's videotaped self-justifications could not be considered a confession of wrongdoing. He praised the terrorist chieftain as "a symbol of the world uprising against American hegemony."

Some Islamic websites reported that the original fatwa had been "misattributed," others that it had been superseded. Qaradawi's outburst of hatred, and his manifest self-contradiction, prompted inquiries from the press, but he declined to elaborate. On October 30 he brushed off the Associated Press, saying, "I wrote an explanation. I can't tell you anything more."

By official count, there are some 4,100 Muslims in the U.S. armed forces (although Captain Muhammad has been quoted claiming 12,000) out of a total force of a million and a half. But any questions concerning Muslim soldiers' duties and loyalties are less urgent than the questions this episode raises about the proper relationship between American

In Search of a Moderate Sheikh; A pro-American Muslim cleric is hard to f

authorities and the ostensible Islamic establishment in the United States and abroad.

Many Muslim functionaries in the United States maintain an attitude of truculence toward American society, even after September 11. Some of them appear rattled; thus, the notorious Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) expressed condolences after the massacre of 16 Christians during a worship service in Pakistan on October 28, although the organization has never expressed regret over killings by suicide bombers in Israel. At the same time, CAIR and partner groups like the Islamic Society of North America and the American Muslim Council loudly complain of purported hate crimes and civil liberties violations to keep American society on the defensive.

As for Sheikh Qaradawi, he embodies the fantasy that there are "moderate" Muslim fundamentalists who can be our allies in the anti-terror fight. Qaradawi, to be sure, has expounded a "liberal" approach to music, which Wahhabis typically abhor. But he also defended the Taliban's demolition of ancient Buddhist statues in Afghanistan.

The lesson: In reality, there is no "moderate" Wahhabism, for it is an amoral power ideology that cannot accept the coexistence of Muslim and non-Muslim civilizations. No wonder it can't explain itself forthrightly to Americans. American Muslims who wish to dissociate themselves from these extremists have their work cut out for them.

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October 26, 2001

SECTION: No. 1, Vol. 38; Pg. 8; ISSN: 0027-8939

IAC-ACC-NO: 79965736

LENGTH: 292 words

HEADLINE: Muslim soldiers told to take part in military campaign; Nation; United States; Brief Article

BYLINE: Donovan, Gill

BODY:

An international panel of Muslim scholars has ruled that Muslims serving in the U.S. military have the obligation to fight for their country, even if it means killing fellow Muslims in a war against terrorism.

The edict, or fatwa, was issued by **Taha Jabir Alwani**, an Islamic scholar at the School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg, Va. The academy certifies the religious credentials of those applying to be Muslim chaplains in the armed forces, according to The Washington Post.

Alwani said, "All Muslims ought to be united against all those who terrorize the innocents, and those who permit the killing of non-combatants without a justifiable reason," according to the Sept. 27 ruling.

The ruling came at the request of Army Capt. Abdul-Rasheed Muhammad, the first Muslim chaplain appointed in the military. Muhammad said he requested the ruling before the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks to provide guidance on requests from Muslim soldiers on declaring themselves conscientious objectors.

The ruling is significant because its supporters include a prominent sheik in Qatar and three Egyptians who have been critical of U.S. foreign policy. Charles Butterworth, a professor of Islam at the University of Maryland, told the Post the edict means "Muslims who are in the military have no question about where their loyalty lies."

At the same time, a contradictory ruling was issued by Islamic clerics in the Persian Gulf country of Yemen. An edict issued by 172 Yemeni scholars said Muslims are prohibited from supporting a U.S.-led military campaign in the Middle East. Cooperation "either materially or morally is prohibited and a betrayal of God, the Prophet [Muhammad] and believers," Reuters news agency reported.

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The Bulletin's Frontrunner

October 11, 2001

SECTION: Leading The News

LENGTH: 126 words

HEADLINE: Islamic Scholars Say Muslims In US Armed Forces May Fight Against Other Muslims.

BODY:

The Washington Post (10/11, A22, Murphy) reports, "A group of prominent Islamic legal scholars in the United States and the Middle East has ruled that Muslims serving in the U.S. armed forces have a duty to fight for their country even if it means combat against other Muslims. The religious opinion, or fatwa, was issued Sept. 27 in response to a question put to one of the scholars, **Taha** Jabir **Alwani**, of Leesburg, by a Muslim chaplain serving in the U.S. military, Army Capt. Abdul-Rasheed Muhammad. . 'To sum up, it's acceptable — God willing — for the Muslim American military personnel to partake in the fighting in the upcoming battles, against whomever, their country decides, has perpetrated terrorism against them,' the scholars concluded."

LOAD-DATE: October 11, 2001

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Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

October 11, 2001, Thursday

SECTION: FEATURES; IDEAS; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 1781 words

HEADLINE: Morality and War

BYLINE: Jane Lampman Religion and ethics correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

BODY:

To spur his followers to the horrendous acts of Sept. 11, Osama bin Laden claimed to lead a holy war against America to end its "crusade against the Islamic nation." Yet his chosen means of warfare – the fiery destruction of the twin towers of the World Trade Center – belied his claim. In the Islamic tradition of jihad, it is forbidden for men to use fire, because that is the weapon God will use in the Day of Judgment.

"One thing that struck me when I saw the TV images was that destroying those buildings by fire [represented] a usurping of the divine authority," says James Turner Johnson, professor of religion at Rutgers University, and a specialist on Islamic and Western traditions of war.

When the US launched military strikes in Afghanistan, Mr. bin Laden upped the ante with a chilling statement dividing the world into two camps, the faithful and the infidels, aiming to provoke passions and to raise the specter of religious war – and perhaps the clash of civilizations spoken of in the West.

Many Muslims have reacted with anger to the US military campaign, but are fears of a widening jihad well founded? War tends to rouse emotions on all sides, but the perceptions of the majorities in many societies are likely to be swayed by whether the actions of the players during the lengthy fight against terrorism are considered just.

When it comes to traditions of war and the efforts to harness it throughout history, those in the West and in the Muslim world are not as far apart as many may assume. The voices of Islam are numerous, as are those of Christianity and Judaism, but the moral tradition of jihad shares many similarities with the concept of "just war" in the West.

Of course, there is no guarantee that the acts of men and nations in war will conform to their principles. Yet civilizations have chosen to set those standards, based on their sense of the moral meaning of life, to serve as guides for testing potential courses of action, and for judging acts of war that have been taken.

To exert moral limits on the use of force, both Western and Islamic traditions say that war must be undertaken by a right authority (the head of a political community, not a private person), for a just cause, and under rules of right conduct.

The significant difference is that, while "just war" theory originated in Christian thinking, it is now mainly a secular tradition instituted in international laws and codes, including the Geneva conventions, and jihad is inherently religious. Islamic normative thinking does not separate the religious from the political and is derived from the Koran.

"This is a fundamental difficulty between the West and the world of conservative Islam," Johnson says. "We can't understand how they can have a society where religion and politics mix, and they can't understand why we don't. And we fault each other for these characteristics."

The Muslim world is in the throes of a reinterpretation of Islamic political theory, and according to Sohail Hashmi,

assistant professor of international relations at Mount Holyoke College, this is likely to bring concepts of jihad even closer to Western precepts.

Protecting the innocent

The moral principles related to "just war" were explored first by Augustine in the 4th century, reiterated in the Middle Ages by Thomas Aquinas, and expanded by jurists and others such as Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), the father of international law. Holy war had a place in this tradition – the Crusades being the most vivid example.

Reacting to the efforts to convert Indians in the New World by force, the Spaniard Francisco de Vitoria in the 16th century became the first to reject the idea of religion as a legitimate basis for war. "Yet it wasn't until the horrendous experience of the post-Reformation religious wars, and particularly the Thirty Years' War," Johnson says, "that Western culture basically said: 'Never again.'" Still, examples of holy war appeared sporadically into the 17th century.

In addition to right authority, "just war" principles include:

- * the idea of just cause, involving defense against attack, and retaliation.
- * the idea of a right intention (not to dominate others, to show superiority, to enjoy the use of force, or exact cruel vengeance).
- * a reasonable probability of success.
- * an intention to restore a just peace.
- * more good done than harm.
- * use of force only as a last resort.
- * avoidance of harm to noncombatants.
- * proportionality – use of the least destructive force possible.

The West's campaign against Afghanistan (and any expansion into other countries) is being judged by many around the world on these principles, as well as by Muslims from their sense of grievance and their own traditions.

Principles of jihad

In Islam, the war tradition is called "jihad of the sword," representing but one element of the broad concept of jihad, which refers to personal and community "striving in the path of God."

"Jihad is a very important concept in Islam," says **Taha Jabir Al-Alwani**, director of the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg, Va. "When you commit yourself to what God asks you to do, and avoid whatever he asks you to abandon, and when you cooperate with your community and encourage the practice of good – this is all part of the jihad.

"But also when somebody attacks your home, people, country, or religion, this also is jihad," he adds. "Just war is when you need to defend these things."

The author of several books on just war and jihad, Johnson says that in the 10th century, Islamic jurists in the Abbasid period of the Islamic state defined the concepts of dar al Islam (realm of Islamic society) and dar al harb (the sphere of war), representing the territories outside the Islamic state with which there were no treaties.

Offensive jihad could be initiated only by the Imam, the religious and political leader of the Islamic community. No such

Morality and War Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA) October 11, 2001

leader has existed for centuries – and will not again until the last days, according to Islamic teaching – so only defensive jihad may now be pursued.

The principles of war in that tradition include:

- * a purpose of self defense.
- * proportionality of response.
- * avoidance of harm to women, children, and other classes of people (the same lists as in just war), and to the environment.
- * cessation war if the enemy seeks reconciliation.

If the dar al Islam is attacked from the dar el harb, every Muslim has the responsibility to fight to protect it. During the periods of colonization by European powers, Dr. Al-Alwani says, many Muslims fighting for independence understood it as a defensive jihad for freedom. Peter Partner, the British author of "God of Battles: Holy Wars of Christianity and Islam," suggests that, at the same time, the leaders of the anticolonialist movement were largely modern nationalists, not religious people.

In fact, through history, he adds, "holy war has never been a knee-jerk reaction in Islam." Muslims didn't begin calling the response to the First Crusade a holy war until 22 years into the conflict, when they fully realized what they were facing. Saladin's campaign to oust the Crusaders later became the epitome of such war.

Fighting the infidels

In Islam, the presence of elements of the outsiders can be viewed as aggression, Johnson says. This is the argument bin Laden uses: The presence of American troops on the holy soil of Saudi Arabia is an aggression, and therefore every Muslim has the obligation to fight back.

"Yet he departs from the normative tradition," Johnson adds, "because he is fighting America in general, not simply those stationed in Saudi Arabia, which is what the old doctrine says."

Islamic tradition says that establishment of a community where sharia is the law is God's plan for the world, and Muslims should be trying to create that society. Yet today, when one-third of Muslims live as minorities in other societies, many think less of these concepts in territorial terms, and more as spiritual struggle.

Al-Alwani, who chairs a council that issues legal opinions for Muslims in North America, has published materials aimed at modifying concepts of dar al Islam and dar al harb.

"We no longer need to use those terms," he says. Muslims should think instead of "the place of people who answer the call of God," regardless of their religion, and "the place where those people – Muslims, Christians, and Jews – need to work together" to reach the unbelievers. The conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Africa and elsewhere spurred him to this reinterpretation, Al-Alwani says. "We need to reach others by values, not by forcing them to change their religion."

The territorial concept, however, also helps to explain why groups such as Hamas in the occupied territories and Hizbullah in Lebanon are seen as having more justification than other radical groups, although their tactics are not supported. "The case of Israeli occupation fits the defensive jihad model much better than other situations," Johnson says.

Still, Islamic tradition forbids killing of innocents and the idea of suicide.

What al Qaeda and other similar terrorist groups are doing is a clear abuse, Al-Alwani says. "A person truly committed to his religion is a person of values, and wouldn't commit such crimes."

Countering terrorism

Morality and War Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA) October 11, 2001

After the Sept. 11 attacks, the foremost authority on Sunni Islam – Sheikh Mohammed Sayed Tantawi, of Al-Azhar university in Cairo – condemned them as contrary to Islam, and the Shia Muslim spiritual leader of Iran, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, called the fight against terrorism a "holy war." The Iranian leader has since strongly opposed the military strikes.

"There is a real distinction between the normative tradition, represented by the Sheik of Al-Azhar, and the use it is being made to serve by people like bin Laden," Johnson says. The extent to which the words of such prominent leaders sway public opinion or more radical Muslim clerics remains to be seen.

Given the frustrations of millions in the region, the primary challenge to avoiding an intensified conflict seems to rest with the counterterrorism coalition's capacity to act in ways that are convincingly just.

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Copyright 2001 The Washington Post
The Washington PostOctober 11, 2001 Thursday
Final Edition**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A22**LENGTH:** 724 words**HEADLINE:** Islamic Scholars Say U.S. Muslim Soldiers Must Fight for Country**BYLINE:** Caryle Murphy, Washington Post Staff Writer**BODY:**

A group of prominent Islamic legal scholars in the United States and the Middle East has ruled that Muslims serving in the U.S. armed forces have a duty to fight for their country even if it means combat against other Muslims.

The religious opinion, or fatwa, was issued Sept. 27 in response to a question put to one of the scholars, Taha Jabir Alwani, of Leesburg, by a Muslim chaplain serving in the U.S. military, Army Capt. Abdul-Rasheed Muhammad.

Muhammad posed the question several months ago, but it is clear from the text of the ruling that the answer was written after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11.

"All Muslims ought to be united against all those who terrorize the innocents, and those who permit the killing of non-combatants without a justifiable reason," the ruling states. "Islam has declared the spilling of blood and the destruction of property as absolute prohibitions until the Day of Judgment" and it is "incumbent upon our military brothers in the American armed forces" to make this Islamic position clear to their commanders and peers, the jurists added.

The ruling is significant because it means "that Muslims who are in the military have no question about where their loyalty lies," said Charles Butterworth, a scholar of Islam at the University of Maryland in College Park.

The document is also important because of the stature of its authors. Most prominent among them is Sheik Yusuf Qaradawi, who lives in the Persian Gulf nation of Qatar and has been critical of U.S. foreign policy, especially in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Other signatories of the fatwa include three Egyptians who have been critical of U.S. policies in the Middle East as well as of their own government: Tariq Bishri, a retired judge; Muhammad S. Awa, a lawyer and law professor; and Fahmi Houaydi, a writer. The other signatory is Haytham Khayyat, an Islamic scholar in Syria.

Although the Pentagon estimates that 4,100 Muslims serve in the U.S. military, Muhammad said he and others believe there are "three times that many."

The issue of whether Muslims can fight other Muslims "is a question that's been a concern not only of mine but of many people in the [U.S.] armed services for quite some time," Muhammad said yesterday in an interview. "We decided it was time to get the experts' opinion on this."

He said that "as chaplains, soldiers would come to us to claim conscientious objector status and commanders would seek us out for advice. . . . I needed the jurists to give me the Islamic advice in this matter."

Muhammad, 48, the first Muslim chaplain ever appointed in the U.S. armed forces, is a chaplain at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. He said he approached Alwani because he is the head of the School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg, which vouches for the Islamic credentials of Muslims who apply to become U.S. military chaplains.

Referring to the attacks of Sept. 11, the jurists said in their ruling that it is "necessary to apprehend the true perpetrators of these crimes, as well as those who aid and abet them through incitement, financing or other support. They must be brought to justice in an impartial court of law and [punished] appropriately."

Islamic Scholars Say U.S. Muslim Soldiers Must Fight for Country The Was

As a result, it is "a duty of Muslims to participate in this effort with all possible means," they added.

Addressing the "uneasiness" of many Muslims about inadvertently harming innocents in combat, the scholars said that when "a Muslim is a citizen of a state and a member of a regular army . . . he has no choice but to follow orders, otherwise his allegiance and loyalty to his country could be in doubt. This would subject him to much harm since he would not enjoy the privileges of citizenship without performing its obligations."

The jurists also said that Muslims could ask to serve in noncombatant positions "if such requests are granted by the authorities, without reservation or harm to the soldiers, or to the other American Muslim citizens." But Muslims should not make such requests if it would "raise doubts about their allegiance . . . [or] shed misgivings on their patriotism.

"To sum up, it's acceptable — God willing — for the Muslim American military personnel to partake in the fighting in the upcoming battles, against whomever, their country decides, has perpetrated terrorism against them," the scholars concluded.

LOAD-DATE: October 17, 2001

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Globes [online] - Israel's Business Arena

October 07, 2001 Sunday**LENGTH:** 2264 words**HEADLINE:** The American Way ;

The Palestinians, after a year of fighting, realize that they cannot achieve their goals by force, or without negotiation. Israel, after a year of attrition, understands that it has no chance of decisively winning the battle against them, and that, in effect, the wall of its physical security stands breached, leaving it wide open to the violent tactics being pursued by the opposing camp.

BYLINE: Yoram Gabbai**BODY:**

In these times, as our own local "Bin Laden" frequently holds friendly meetings with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's son Omri, Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat has become the darling of the anti-terror alliance. This calls to mind a certain historical anecdote from the mid-nineteenth century, when the Russian Czar invited Otto von Bismarck, the then Prussian ambassador to Russia, to become Russia's foreign minister. In those days, politicians and diplomats formed a sort of international trade union, all belonging to the same cultural, social and economic class. National consciousness was still of relatively secondary importance.

That is all a thing of the past. Today, however, most of the leaders of the proximate circle, consisting of Egypt, Syria, the Palestinians, Israel and Jordan, belong to the same school of rational politicians, acting on the basis of reason decisions, and guided by a well-defined strategy, who function within the framework of external political constraints and internal power struggles.

Leaders on both sides are pursuing a successful attempt to demonize the other side in the eyes of their own public, by presenting the dispute in unilateral dimensions. That, for example, was what former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir and her Egyptian counterpart President Anwar Saadat did to one another. Saadat was depicted, in the Israeli media, and for pre-Yom Kippur war public consumption, as a hostile fool sympathetic to Nazism. Yet, in the years following the terrible war of 1973, he became, for Israel, the wise, sensitive peace strategist, who ultimately sacrificed his life for peace. The same dynamic is at work between Palestinian Authority president Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, as well as between Sharon and Syrian President Bashar Assad.

Anyone examining the facts realistically will find that both parties have fairly circumspect professional political leaderships, each in dispassionate, sophisticated, sometimes harsh and cruel, pursuit of its strategic goals. For example, at the Paris talks, was Palestinian representative Abu Ala really so different, in terms of goals, temperament and realistic outlook, from Israeli delegate Avraham Shochat? Would [former Ministry of Finance director general]David Brodet, [former tax commissioner]Aryeh Zeif or I have conducted the talks so very differently from [economist]Dr. Taha Jabir al Alwani and the late Hassan Taboub [of the Ministry of Waqf and Religious Affairs]? Can anyone point to any material differences between Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Yossi Beilin, on the one hand, and [Arafat advisor]Abu Mazen and [PA Minister of Local Governance Dr. Saeb]Erekat on the other? Was [IDF Chief of General Staff]Shaul Mofaz and Major General Yom-Tov Samia's conduct of military tactics so different from that of [Palestinian Preventive Security head in Gaza Mohammad]Dahlan or [Palestinian Preventive Security head]Jibril Rajoub?

I hope I have not offended any of the above-named, but it would seem that they are all trying to faithfully represent the interests of their own nations, subject to the objective limitations with which each of the parties has to cope. There may come a day when such an individual is awarded a Nobel Peace Prize, and later earns international condemnation.

It is in light of the various documents, talks and moves dating from the Oslo and Paris accords to the present day, that the political and economic strategy and tactics pursued by each of the parties, the Israeli and the Palestinian, should be

The American Way ;The Palestinians, after a year of fighting, realize th

analysed. Such analysis, however, will not contain any psychological, cultural, historical or conspiratorial theories, for which, while they may be valid, no factual underpinnings are to be found in the shared arena.

Palestinian tactics and strategy

The declared strategic goal of the Palestinian – avowed consistently throughout Oslo, Paris and Camp David, as well as Taba – has been quite clear: A final peace to be achieved between the parties only after Israel reverts to the frontier lines of June 4, 1967, with limited exchanges of territory in the region of Jerusalem and surroundings, and with Israeli enclaves in the Territories; East Jerusalem, including Temple Mount, to be under Palestinian sovereignty, except for the Western Wall and the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, which Israel will retain.

The Palestinians' principal economic goal is that, under the permanent settlement, as in the interim settlement reached in Paris, the two nations, Palestine and Israel, would maintain almost total economic integration, the boundaries being primarily political rather than economic. [PLC speaker]Abu Ala made this perfectly clear to Shochat as early as 1994, when he said that economic separation was tantamount to war against the Palestinians. Arafat emissary Maher al Kurd reiterated the principle of economic integration in unofficial talks and in the 1998 agreement (these talks were held under the auspices of the Norwegian government, with the United States weighing in with its support after the fact).

No political evidence exists to support any "stage-by-stage" theory as allegedly developed by the Palestinians. Their preference is for a complete permanent settlement rather than a stage-by-stage approach, which was why they balked at the proposals advanced by Sharon's predecessor, then-Prime Minister Ehud Barak. Nor is there any real indication that the subject of the refugees and the 'right of return' constituted the stumbling block over which the Camp David talks tripped and fell. The formulations on these topics, very nearly agreed upon at Taba, attest, in my opinion, that this was not a pivotal clause in the differences of opinion.

The Palestinians assume that they will succeed in achieving their goals, in the long term, by virtue of the sweeping international support they have garnered (but to which the United States and Israel do not subscribe), for the principle of peace in return for territories. It is in the light of this concept that they construe pertinent UN resolutions (242 and 338), as well as the Oslo accord.

The intensive preparations that preceded the second Intifada commenced once the Palestinians realised that they had no real chance of attaining their goals (during Benjamin Netanyahu's premiership). The final decision was reached following Camp David, when it became apparent to them that Israel was offering them "only" 91% of the territory, a leasehold on the Beqaa Valley, the persistence of Jewish settlement blocs that would divide the Palestinian state, and a challenge to their sovereignty over Temple Mount (site of the mosques of Omar and al-Aqsa).

The Taba talks did, in fact, result in considerable rapprochement between the parties, but it was obvious to all concerned that the Clinton-Barak era was, by then, history and that agreements reached on the subject had no chance of being implemented. The Palestinians had, throughout all this (and at least since the Netanyahu era), reserved the option of violence, to be deployed by two principal means: the reinforcement and intensive arming of their regular and irregular forces, and the preservation of a given level of incitement against Israel.

Today, the Palestinians are keeping the Intifada going at a gradated and controlled level of violence, in the deployment of which moral considerations play no part, but with a eye to certain specific goals and military, political, international and regional constraints (for example, the ceasefire achieved in Gilo in order to prevent an Israeli invasion). In any event, the strategic decision comes clearly through: there will be no real ceasefire until some significant political achievement is recorded.

The Israeli position

Israel's strategic, political and economic position is by no means clear. Greater transparency and clarity attaches to its tactical moves.

The initiators of the 1993 Oslo accord did not put their minds to the essential nature of the forthcoming final settlement between us and our neighbours (even though they were aware of the other side's position). Yet Clinton's proposals did not take them by surprise, since they reflected what, since Oslo, had been almost a forgone conclusion – an almost total withdrawal from the Territories, and a compromise on the subjects of Jerusalem, the settlements, the refugees and the right of return.

The Likud opponents of Oslo also failed to clearly define their position with regard to the final settlement. They

The American Way ;The Palestinians, after a year of fighting, realize th

opposed the entire Oslo accord, and still do, but accepted, as a political fact of life, matters on which signed agreements had been reached and that had been implemented in the past.

True, Likud governments did reach a number of agreements with the Palestinian Authority, which, however, with the exception of the Hebron agreement, both parties took care not to implement. By 1996, when Benjamin Netanyahu acceded to power, the Oslo agreement had been relegated to the status of "living on borrowed time".

The tactics pursued by Labour consisted of economic integration with the Palestinians (the Paris accord), but both Yitzhak Rabin and Ehud Barak declared themselves in favour of economic separation. Rabin actually turned terror attacks to some advantage by creating an effective separation, by means of imposing protracted blockades and by issuing work permits to tens of thousands of foreign workers.

The Likud governments, oddly enough, supported economic integration with the Palestinians and therefore, the other side enjoyed relative economic prosperity during the Netanyahu regime.

Throughout the term of the Oslo accords, Israel acted consistently to reinforce the settlements. Over an eight-year period, the number of settlers increased by 110%. Labor actively supported the settlements within the limits of the Yigal Allon plan, while succumbing (mainly on the part of Barak) to pressures in other areas. The Likud governments actively supported settlements within the areas of the West Bank, in order to create facts on the ground, which would ensure that the Palestinian state did not enjoy territorial continuity.

Since the beginning of the second Intifada, Israel has been deploying military operations in accordance with rational considerations: use of maximum force (encirclements, bombardments and specifically directed liquidation), in the framework of international political restrictions. Israel continues to maintain a low dosage of economic integration with the other side, permitting, subject to security considerations, the flow of goods, services and also workers, from one side to the other.

Forecast

An objective analysis of the realities of the situation shows wide strategic gaps between the two camps, while opposition elements, both here and there, oppose any peace agreement. At the same time, conditions are currently coming about that are conducive to a political settlement. The stalemate between the parties, along with the change in the international political picture, operates to improve the chances of a settlement.

The Palestinians, after a year of fighting, realize that they will not be able to achieve their goals by force, or without negotiation. Israel, after a year of attrition, understands that it has no chance of decisively winning the battle against them, and that, in effect, the wall of its physical security stands breached, leaving it wide open to the violent tactics being pursued by the opposing camp

Moreover, all economic walks of life in Israel have been steadily on the wane, a process that will only get worse in the near future, and will be accompanied by cultural, sporting and other types of isolation. While the media and populations of both nations have toed the line traced by their leaderships, they have done so knowing that those leaderships have utterly failed to achieve their strategic goals.

Meanwhile, the developed nations, headed by the United States, are coming to the ever clearer realization that although the leadership of international terror resides, perhaps, in Afghanistan, and has been active there for over twenty years, yet the "army" of terror is flourishing in our region, on the fertile soil of the national-religious struggle between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. While the focus lies ostensibly in the Temple Mount mosques, Arafat's potential for harm in relation to the global alliance is increasing (by reason of his ability to "heat up" the mosque arena). His price in international politics increases accordingly. As the furtherance of a prime American interest comes to appear stymied by the two parties' failure to achieve their goals, there emerges, for the first time, a future prospect of a pax Americana type of agreement, which will be imposed on both leaderships, enabling them to overcome internal opposition, entrenched in hostility to any peace agreement, on the basis of the Clinton proposals.

The first anticipated step in this process is a cease-fire, in return for an absolute and hermetic freeze on settlement. The outcome is in the hands of the political leaderships of both parties, which must truly lead their peoples, and not be dragged in the wake of pressure for the preservation of a violent status quo, with no resolution anywhere in prospect.

The writer participated in talks with the Jordanians and Palestinians in the years 1993-1999, and was Commissioner for State Revenue.

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Calgary Sun (Alberta, Canada)September 26, 2001 Wednesday, Final Edition**SECTION:** News; Pg. 3**LENGTH:** 156 words**HEADLINE:** CAMPAIGN CODE NAME CHANGED**DATELINE:** WASHINGTON**BODY:**

The biggest military mobilization since the Persian Gulf War in 1991 has a new name: Operation Enduring Freedom. This time, the Pentagon hopes it sticks.

The Defence Department suffered an embarrassing setback last week when the original code name for the military campaign against terrorism proved to be a diplomatic faux pas. That name, Infinite Justice, offended some Muslim clerics, who say only Allah can deliver such a lofty goal.

The name surfaced as the Bush administration was trying to court Muslim nations for the campaign.

Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld issued a caveat in announcing the new name. Operation Enduring Freedom would endure, he said cautiously, "unless it too has a problem, which, after the vetting we've been engaged in, would be a disappointment."

Sheik **Taha** al-**Alwani**, chairman of the Islamic Jurisprudence Council of North America, said of the name: "I don't see a problem with that."

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Copyright 2001 Gannett Company, Inc.
USA TODAYSeptember 26, 2001, Wednesday, FINAL EDITION**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 5A**LENGTH:** 160 words**HEADLINE:** Mobilization name changes**BYLINE:** Jonathan Weisman**DATELINE:** WASHINGTON**BODY:**

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The Defense Department suffered an embarrassing setback last week when the original code name for the military campaign against terrorism proved to be a diplomatic faux pas. That name, Infinite Justice, offended some Muslim clerics, who say that only Allah can deliver such a lofty goal. The name surfaced just as the Bush administration was trying to court Muslim nations for the campaign.

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Copyright 2001 The National Journal Group, Inc.
The HotlineSeptember 21, 2001**SECTION: THE WAR****LENGTH:** 1484 words**HEADLINE: MILITARY STRATEGY: PENTAGON DEPLOYS GROUND TROOPS****BODY:**

The Army yesterday "began moving ground troops to within striking distance of Afghanistan," as the U.S. buildup "moved into its second day." Army Sec. Thomas White said the Army "is 'ready to conduct sustained land combat operations' in the Persian Gulf region." White: "This is not a police activity. We have treated [combating terrorism] as a police activity in the past. This is war. In the conduct of this campaign there will most likely be casualties. That is the nature of war" (Schrader, Los Angeles Times, 9/21).

ABC's John McWethy: "Sources tell ABC News a special operations headquarters is already up and running not far from Afghanistan. For small teams of these elite troops, the first job will be surveillance. It means being secretly inserted into Afghanistan by parachute, helicopter or by walking, hiding for days in rugged terrain, monitoring activities of suspected terrorists from a distance. Sources tell ABC News these troops are prepared to capture or kill suspected members of bin Laden's inner circle, assuming they are found, or to grab and interrogate others who might have knowledge. If there are air strikes, special operations commandos may guide the bombs from the ground by holding a laser on the target. Military sources say these teams of elite soldiers are already moving into position in several different countries that border Afghanistan, and some will work inside with tribal factions that have been fighting a five year-long war against the ruling Taliban" ("World News Tonight," ABC, 9/20).

The Pentagon "ratcheted up preparations for a sustained military campaign" on 9/20. While the deployments may "harken back" to the Gulf War, Defense Sec. Donald Rumsfeld "indicated Americans would see only a small part of the operation." Rumsfeld "hinted": "There are probably other things going on." The Pentagon "is saying little" about how many troops will be involved or where they will be deployed, but "it's clear from Thursday's announcement" the U.S. plans "a sustained, broadly based assault" (Weisman, USA Today, 9/21). The U.S. has sent Air Force Lt. Gen. Charles Wald to Saudi Arabia "to oversee air attacks against Afghanistan." The Pentagon also plans to send "combat search-and-rescue teams" into ex-Soviet republics near

MILITARY STRATEGY: PENTAGON DEPLOYS GROUND TROOPS The Hotline September

Afghanistan, "where they would be ready to get downed pilots," according to two Pentagon officials. While Russian officials have said the ex-republics "can decide for themselves whether to cooperate," the moves there "has plunged the political establishment in Moscow into a divisive debate" (Schmitt/Gordon, New York Times, 9/21). Ft. Bragg officials "announced they would no longer discuss the status of the" 42K troops stationed there, "the first hint that soldiers would soon embark in a war on terrorism" (Price, Charlotte Observer, 9/21).

PENTAGON OFFERING BUSH OPTIONS

It will "be at least a week before" the troops headed to the region "would be ready for battle," but some "air strike options could be exercised before then." Pentagon officials "indicate they have not settled" on one single strategy, and the deployments issued "are designed" to offer Pres. Bush with "as many military options as possible" (Diamond, Chicago Tribune, 9/21). Army chief White said, "special operating forces, including the Green Berets and Rangers, 'will play a prominent role.'" He said the Army "is preparing for 'heavy, light, air-mobile, airborne, special operations — all of the combat capabilities" (Howe/Schlessinger, Boston Globe, 9/21). A "senior" Pentagon official said, "a consensus has been reached" that the operation will "require extensive use" of special operations troops, which will be "backed by some regular infantry units." The "first likely operation" will be a "combined air/special-operations strike" intended to "eliminate" Osama bin Laden and his network (Scarborough, Washington Times, 9/21). Defense experts suggest "part of the plan is to insert" special operations units "to smash terrorists' hide-outs and cut off their sources of assistance." But while the "build-up indicates the seriousness" of U.S. action, "it does not give a clue as to what precisely will be attempted — and that is part of the plan" (Nicoll/Fidler, Financial Times, 9/21).

A NEW VOCABULARY

Still, "even as military leaders moved forward, they were still struggling to articulate the nature — and objective" of the war on terrorism. Rumsfeld: "We really, almost, are going to have to fashion a new vocabulary and different constructs for thinking about what it is we're doing." Rumsfeld said the U.S. "would be victorious if it can 'go after this worldwide problem in a way that we can continue our way of life'" (Shepard, Cox/Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 9/21). Rumsfeld, who "provided the Bush administrations most complete explanation yet" of the U.S. mission, said it will be "ambiguous when it comes." Rumsfeld: "What you can do is go after the problem to a point that you are satisfied the American people are going to be able to live their lives in relative freedom and have the kinds of linkages with the rest of the world that we feel are so central to our well-being" (Epstein, San Francisco Chronicle, 9/21).

"INFINITE JUSTICE" SCUTTLED?

Baltimore Sun's Fesperman reports, "When it comes to naming

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a military operation, 'infinite' is apparently going to far." Rumsfeld said, the "initial name" for the U.S. response, "Operation Infinite Justice," will be "changed in deference to some Muslims, who believe that only God can mete out justice of that scope." The change "is not merely a case of political correctness," as Bush seeks "to build a coalition" with several countries with "predominantly Muslim populations" (9/21). Rumsfeld on whether the U.S. will keep the name: "I just don't know the answer, but I doubt it." Pentagon officials offered "no word" on what the new name might be, but Rumsfeld's "comments reflected the delicacy of the Bush administrations efforts to enlist" gov'ts in the "Muslim world" in the effort (Landay, Charlotte Observer, 9/21). The flap marked the second time the U.S. "has managed to offend the sensibilities of Muslims it wants to court." On 9/16, Bush said the U.S. "was launching a 'crusade' against terrorism." Sheik **Taha al-Alwani**, chair of Islamic jurists in North America, suggested that in renaming the operation the Pentagon "try a term that refers to protecting human beings and leave judging them to God" (Slavin, USA Today, 9/21).

SPECIAL DELIVERY

The Special Forces Command at Ft. Bragg "received a deployment order" on 9/20, "but post spokesmen wouldn't provide specifics." Less than 5% of the 1.4M U.S. troops "are devoted to secret missions and covert operations." This "covert arsenal" includes roughly 8K "commandos ... many of whom train at Fort Bragg." Most Special Forces troops "are charming, trained to make friends in foreign countries — and nondescript. They want, after all, to blend in wherever they go" (Griffin, Charlotte Observer, 9/21). If the U.S.'s special operations troops "are successful, the world may never hear of their exploits," and "theoretically, they could already be operating behind enemy lines." In Afghanistan, which looks "more like the Stone Age," Special Forces units "seem well suited for the job" (de la Garza, St. Petersburg Times, 9/21).

AIR CONDITIONING

The "combat air package" the U.S. has deployed to the Gulf region "packs a powerful punch." At a minimum, "U.S. air power should be able to create a safe landing zone" for ground troops entering Afghanistan. The Pentagon has sent "a sophisticated mix" of aircraft, "similar to that used" against Iraq (Kilian, Chicago Tribune, 9/21). Spokesmen for Whiteman Air Force Base in MO "said they cannot discuss the status" of the stealth bomber group stationed there (O'Neill, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 9/21).

LIVE FIRE IN VIEQUES

Cong. sources said "it's up to President Bush to cancel the order of 2000" to allow live fire training in Vieques. Though legislation in the House to authorize funds for Defense "repeals the referendum." One official said, "With everything that has happened, the number one priority is the national defense and the preparedness of our troops" (Younes, El Nuevo Dia Puerto

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Rico, 9/21).

U.S., BRITAIN STRIKE IRAQ

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USA TODAY

September 21, 2001, Friday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6A

LENGTH: 232 words

HEADLINE: Administration has used words that offend Muslims

BYLINE: Barbara Slavin

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON — Of all the challenges the Bush administration faces in trying to forge a coalition against terrorism, one of the unlikeliest so far has been linguistic.

Twice in the 10 days since the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, the U.S. government has managed to offend the sensibilities of Muslims it wants to court:

* On Sunday, President Bush said the USA was launching a "crusade" against terrorism. The word conjures up a period in the Middle Ages when Christian Europe fought to wrest Jerusalem from Muslim control.

* On Thursday, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said he is likely to change the initial code name for the Pentagon's response to the attacks on the United States from Operation Infinite Justice.

Told at a press conference that the expression was offensive to Muslims, Rumsfeld said, "Obviously, the United States does not want to do or say things that create an impression on the part of the listener that would be a misunderstanding."

Sheik **Taha** al-**Alwani**, chairman of Islamic jurists in North America, said the term could be translated as "absolute justice," which is something that only God can deliver. "Even a Supreme Court justice would miss some evidence or could make a wrong judgment," Alwani said.

He suggested the Pentagon try a term that refers to protecting human beings and leave judging them to God.

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National Journal's House Race HotlineSeptember 20, 2001, Thursday**SECTION: THE WAR****CONG-DISTRICT: MILITARY STRATEGY****LENGTH:** 1465 words**HEADLINE:** Pentagon Deploys Ground Troops**BODY:**

The Army yesterday "began moving ground troops to within striking distance of Afghanistan," as the U.S. buildup "moved into its second day." Army Sec. Thomas White said the Army "is 'ready to conduct sustained land combat operations' in the Persian Gulf region." White: "This is not a police activity. We have treated [combating terrorism] as a police activity in the past. This is war. In the conduct of this campaign there will most likely be casualties. That is the nature of war" (Schrader, Los Angeles Times, 9/21). ABC's John McWethy: "Sources tell ABC News a special operations headquarters is already up and running not far from Afghanistan. For small teams of these elite troops, the first job will be surveillance. It means being secretly inserted into Afghanistan by parachute, helicopter or by walking, hiding for days in rugged terrain, monitoring activities of suspected terrorists from a distance. Sources tell ABC News these troops are prepared to capture or kill suspected members of bin Laden's inner circle, assuming they are found, or to grab and interrogate others who might have knowledge. If there are air strikes, special operations commandos may guide the bombs from the ground by holding a laser on the target. Military sources say these teams of elite soldiers are already moving into position in several different countries that border Afghanistan, and some will work inside with tribal factions that have been fighting a five year-long war against the ruling Taliban" ("World News Tonight," ABC, 9/20). The Pentagon "ratcheted up preparations for a sustained military campaign" on 9/20. While the deployments may "harken back" to the Gulf War, Defense Sec. Donald Rumsfeld "indicated Americans would see only a small part of the operation." Rumsfeld "hinted": "There are probably other things going on." The Pentagon "is saying little" about how many troops will be involved or where they will be deployed, but "it's clear from Thursday's announcement" the U.S. plans "a sustained, broadly based assault" (Weisman, USA Today, 9/21). The U.S. has sent Air Force Lt. Gen. Charles Wald to Saudi Arabia "to oversee air attacks against Afghanistan." The Pentagon also plans to send "combat search-and-rescue teams" into ex-Soviet republics near Afghanistan, "where they would be ready to get downed pilots," according to two Pentagon officials. While Russian officials have said the ex-republics "can decide for themselves whether to cooperate," the moves there "has plunged the political establishment in Moscow into a divisive debate" (Schmitt/Gordon, New York Times, 9/21). Ft. Bragg officials "announced they would no longer discuss the status of the" 42K troops stationed there, "the first hint that soldiers would soon embark in a war on terrorism" (Price, Charlotte Observer, 9/21). Pentagon Offering Bush Options It will "be at least a week before" the troops headed to the region "would be ready for battle," but some "air strike options could be exercised before then." Pentagon officials "indicate they have not settled" on one single strategy, and the deployments issued "are designed" to offer Pres. Bush with "as many military options as possible" (Diamond, Chicago Tribune, 9/21). Army chief White said, "special operating forces, including the Green Berets and Rangers, 'will play a prominent role.'" He said the Army "is preparing for 'heavy, light, air-mobile, airborne, special operations — all of the combat capabilities'" (Howe/Schlessinger, Boston Globe, 9/21). A "senior" Pentagon official said, "a consensus has been reached" that the operation will "require extensive use" of special operations troops, which will be "backed by some regular infantry units." The "first likely operation" will be a "combined air/special-operations strike" intended to "eliminate" Osama bin Laden and his network (Scarborough, Washington Times, 9/21). Defense experts suggest "part of the plan is to insert" special operations units "to smash terrorists' hide-outs and cut off their sources of assistance." But while the "build-up indicates the seriousness" of U.S. action, "it does not give a clue as to what precisely will be attempted — and that is part of the plan" (Nicoll/Fidler, Financial Times, 9/21). A New Vocabulary Still, "even as military leaders moved forward, they were still struggling to articulate the nature — and objective" of the war on terrorism.

Pentagon Deploys Ground Troops National Journal's House Race Hotlin

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